

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776

When in

owers of the earth; the separate and equal
rights which impel them to the separa-
tional Rights, that among these are
sent of the governed, — That whenever
a foundation on such principles, as
governments long established should not
bear to right themselves by abolishing
and reducing them under absolute Despotism,
the Colonies; and such is
of repeated injuries and usurpations,
— He has refused his Assent to
these, unless suspended on their open
accommodation of large districts of
— He has called together legislative
measures. — He has delighted
in dispositions, to cause others to be de-
c exposed to all the dangers of invasion
and desolation of Foreigners; refusing to
stop, by refusing his Assent to Laws
of salaries. — He has erected a
Standing Army, without the consent
as to a jurisdiction foreign to our con-
+ us: — For protecting them by an
acts of the world: — For imposing
stated offences. — For abolishing
our example and fit instrument
by the forms of our governments
Government here, by declaring us out
He is at this time transporting large
so most barbarous age, and totally in
the execrations of their friends and
tears, the merciless Indian Savages, who
die in the most horrid terms. One
of a free people. Nor have we been
the best example of these. The

us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our long忍耐和不屈不挠的斗争, and we have conjured them non binhated to desecrate these usurpations, which would inevitably intercept our communications and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War; in Peace Friends.

We the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intime and by authority of the good People of these Colonies solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are and of Right ought to be Free and Independent Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved, and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States, And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes,

Geo Hooper
Joseph Hayes.
John Penn

Edward Puttidge Jr.

Thos. Heywood Junr.
Thomas Lynch Junr.
Arthur Huddleston

Thos³ May was a friend
Thomas Lynch Jr.
Arthur Middleton
George Wythe
Richard Henry Lee
Th^r Jefferson
W^m Harrison
Th^r Nelson Jr.
Francis Lightfoot Lee
Carter Braxton ✓

Samuel Chase,
John Parke
Chase,
Thos. Stone.
Charles Carroll of Carrollton

George Wythe
Richard Henry Lee
Th Jefferson
Wor^r Hennison
The Nelson pⁱ
Francis Lightfoot Lee
Carter Braxton ✓

Feb 27 Morris
Benj. Morris Bush
Prof at Franklin
Benj. Franklin

John Morton
Grafton & Smith
St. Amritsar

*Geo. Taylor
James Wilson
Geo. Ross*

Basar Barry
et al.
The M. D. A.

*John Livingston
Sam'l Lewis
Lewis Morris*

Positive Stockton

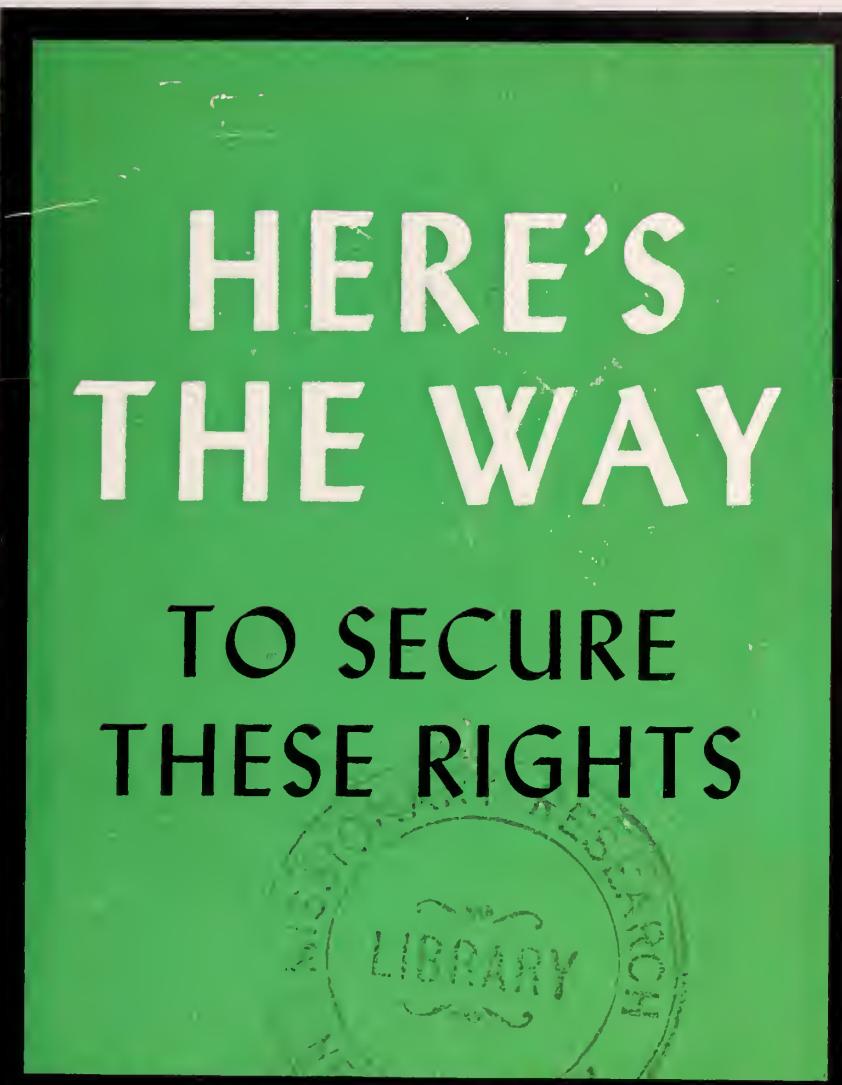
John H. Thompson
John H. Thompson
John H. Thompson

Anna Clark

Josiah Bartlett
W^m Whipple,
Sam^t Adams
John Adams
Ab^t Treat Paine
Henry [•] Gerry

5¢ *H. S. Kins*
Ciam Ellory -
Ter Sherman

John Huntington
Nath Williams
Oliver Holbrook
Matthew Thornton



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HERE'S THE WAY TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS

by

HANNA F. DESSER and ETHEL C. PHILLIPS

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NOV 22 1948

HERE'S HOW THIS BOOK WAS STARTED

Dear Dr. Green:

One question has been troubling me ever since I heard your splendid sermon on "Discrimination - Threat to Brotherhood and Civil Rights."

Not that there's any doubt of what you told us about racial and religious discrimination. Similar eye-opening facts were brought out recently by the President's Committee on Civil Rights. And it's clear from what you said that even in this town of ours the right of equal opportunity is not yet enjoyed by all our neighbors.

You mentioned, for instance, that simply because of prejudice, doors to good jobs are slammed in the faces of able people. Education isn't free and equal for all our boys and girls. Various kinds of unfair agreements prevent some families from finding suitable homes to live in.

Of course we all agree that such practices must be checked. As you said, we can hardly expect our children to honor the principles we teach, if they see us cynically indifferent to injustices close at hand. That is one of the reasons why I want to do something.

How can I help bring to life what you called "the unrealized dream of equal opportunity?"

There must be many others, in our church and in our clubs, who would like to make a start if they only knew how to go about it. I'm sure the will is there. It's the way we're groping for.

Can you help me? Please tell me where and how to begin.

Very sincerely yours,

Aileen M. Parker
(Mrs. Herbert A. Parker)

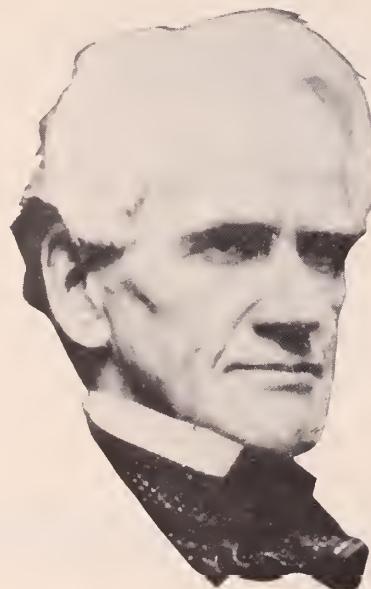
ON YOUR MARK



Everybody's Doing It . . .

—“How to begin?”

That's the question everyone's been asking. Like Mrs. Parker, most of us have known something about racial and religious discrimination. But we've never known enough. Not until the President's Committee on Civil Rights gave us its Report a short time ago. The facts in that Report jolted thousands of citizens out of their comfortable chairs, sent them off to the nearest mail-box, with letters like Mrs. Parker's in their hands. Letters to clergymen, to senators and congressmen, to newspaper editors and organization officials:



Horace Mann

“It's high time for action—where do we go from here?”

This handbook comes in answer to those many energetic men and women who have heard enough talk and want to fight the good fight for civil rights.

Know Your Own Strength . . .

Before plunging into “chapter and verse,” it's always a good idea to get a few thoughts clearly in mind.

First, about yourself: No matter where you live, or what your occupation is, you have a part to play in bringing our nation ever closer to freedom and equality for all. As the Committee on Civil Rights puts it, “In no other nation have so many people come as close to this ideal as in America . . . the greatest hope for the future is the increasing awareness by more and more Americans of the gulf between our civil rights principles and our practices. Only a free people can continually question and appraise the adequacy of its institutions.”

Even one lone person can often accomplish wonders. In fact, American history is studded with the achievements of men and women who almost single-handed pushed through badly needed reforms. Such men, for instance, as Horace Mann, who took up the cudgels for public school education in his native state of Massachusetts. The results

of his crusade are felt in schools all over the country today. All of us would do well to remember Horace Mann's oft-quoted words: "Be ashamed to die until you have won some victory for humanity."

There is the epic, too, of Susan B. Anthony, who rallied millions to the cause of women's suffrage. She worked alone much of the time, often in the teeth of cruel ridicule. A biographer said of her: "The secret of her power, aside from her superior intellect and strong personality, was her unswerving singleness of purpose."

These and scores of other intrepid Americans had no elaborate training to begin with. So don't imagine that you have to be an "expert" in order to do a good job.

But you *do* need to think through exactly what you want to accomplish. That's the first step. Then you'll need the help of neighbors, friends and other groups besides your own. In other words, you need a workable program and plenty of willing hands to carry it out.

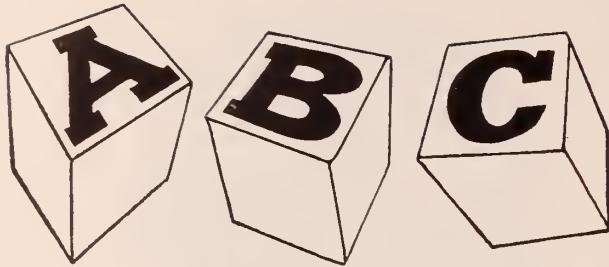


Susan B. Anthony

It goes without saying that you're already supplied with certain indispensable equipment—good will, initiative, enthusiasm and patience. If you weren't well endowed with these personal assets, you wouldn't be starting out on this enterprise at all.



*The Report of the
President's Committee
on Civil Rights*



If you haven't seen the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, by all means beg a copy from a friend, borrow one from a library or, better still, buy one yourself—either from the U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., or at your local bookstore where a commercial edition is available. You'll find it's well worth the dollar it costs to have your own copy for reference and inspiration.

For this Report is no ordinary document. It already occupies a niche alongside the great testaments of American liberty. Like the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights and the Emancipation Proclamation, the Report on Civil Rights raises a standard for our children to uphold in years to come. It will challenge future generations of Americans to assert their own strength by daring to examine and correct their faults.

Now, once you get into the Report, don't be overwhelmed by the gold mine of ideas and information you'll discover. You'll soon find the most important thoughts — the A B C's of Civil Rights—contained in just a few nuggets. You'll want to examine these carefully, turning them over in your mind, so you can explain them to others.

For instance, the Civil Rights Report says that every citizen is entitled to four basic rights, and ". . . each of these rights is essential to the well-being of the individual and to the progress of society." The four rights are: safety and security of the person, citizenship and its privileges, freedom of conscience and expression, and equality of opportunity.

Every citizen does not yet enjoy all these rights, as we know. And the chief barrier is

KNOW YOUR ABC's

racial and religious discrimination.

In telling this to other people, you're likely to meet some who aren't very clear on what "discrimination" means in actual practice. You may have to spell it out for them in A B C fashion, something like this:

EMPLOYMENT. When people are not given a fair chance to get jobs on the basis of training and ability, simply because their skin is a certain color or they worship in a certain church, that's discrimination.

HOUSING. When families who are house-hunting find the nasty word "Restricted" blocking the way, just because they are Negroes, Mexicans, Indians or Italians, or members of so-called "minority" religious groups—regardless of their social or cultural assets—that's discrimination.

EDUCATION. When youngsters, because of their race, are segregated in separate schools — that's discrimination. When, in addition, they are given inferior public schools, with lower paid teachers and outmoded equipment, that multiplies injustice. And it's also discrimination when bright boys and girls, wanting to go to colleges and professional schools, find the doors slammed in their faces for no other reason than their race, faith or national origin.

HEALTH AND HOSPITAL SERVICES. When sick people—and people who just want to find out how to keep well—are told there is no place for them in hospitals, clinics and other public health centers, because their skin is dark, that's discrimination. And the nasty word applies to the health centers and hospitals that refuse, on similar grounds, the capable hands and minds of nurses and doctors.

VOTING. When local regulations, State laws, or plain unvarnished threats and intimidation prevent a Negro citizen from casting his ballot, that's discrimination.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE. When third-degree police methods are used on colored persons arrested on suspicion; when officials wink at or refuse to prosecute white people suspected of violence or even lynching; when jury lists exclude colored citizens; when judges show definite racial bias—that's discrimination.

TRAVEL AND RECREATION. When men, women and children cannot freely enter and make use of buses, trains, hotels, parks, restaurants, theatres, bowling alleys, dance halls, skating rinks and other "places of public accommodation"—that's discrimination.

Why Discrimination Must Go . . .

Of course anyone can think of a dozen different reasons why such practices must be abolished. But the Committee on Civil Rights puts them all into three nuggets:

As individuals, we should live by the standards we set for ourselves or we will find our souls destroyed by "moral erosion"—hypocrisy, cynicism and despair. We must protect our children, too, lest they develop the warped outlooks and maladjusted personalities commonly found among bigoted individuals.

As a nation, we should use the energies and talents of all our citizens. Only then will we be able to create a better life for everyone, improve the standard of living, reduce the costs of government. And we must guard against the division and conflict that arise when groups of Americans distrust each other. Unity is essential if we are to deal wisely with the issues of these uncertain times.

As a nation in a world of nations, we should practice what we preach, or lose the confidence of people in other lands. The

European Recovery Program alone will not convince our neighbors that democracy is more fruitful than any strong-arm system. To back up our stand for freedom abroad, we need action for civil rights at home.

In other words, there can be no question of what we must do. We must join together now, as we have done whole-heartedly in the past, to work for our country's good. That is the message of the Civil Rights Report—and it echoes in all our hearts and minds.

Talk It Up . . .



Once you've had a chance to absorb the Civil Rights Report, don't keep your ideas to yourself. Talk to your family, your neighbors and friends. Talk about the Report with your minister and your church group. *Get everyone you know to read the Report.*

Meanwhile, you can be planning your next move—a talk-it-over meeting of your own group, after everyone has had time to read and digest the Report.

Maybe you'll want this to be an intimate get-together in your home. Or you may decide to make it a more formal session in your church, with several groups besides your own invited to join in. In any event, this will be your first big step and you don't want to stumble. Have the questions you'd like to have discussed well mapped out in advance.

ORGANIZING FOR ACTION

Don't Fumble - Plan!

Remember, there's nothing more discouraging than a meeting that starts out full of enthusiasm and then peters out because no one knows where to head next. No matter how lively your talk-fest may be, it's bound to fizzle in the end if you aren't on your toes to get a clear-cut agreement among all the people present as to the next forward move. The best way of running a successful meeting is to decide in advance exactly what ought to come out of it.

Naturally, the first development you're looking for is a full and free exchange of views on the Civil Rights Report, with special emphasis on how it applies to your community. As a handy aid in holding the discussion down to earth, you may want to bring along the "Check List," issued by the Women's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church. This sensible little booklet is packed with provocative questions that will quickly get

the conversation gravitating toward the danger zones of discrimination in your town.

With the discussion pinned to particular trouble-spots, some keen member of your group is bound to come up with a pertinent comment along these lines: "Most of the evidence we have is guess-work. Maybe we ought to get the facts. If we'd examine civil rights in this community as the President's Committee did in the country as a whole, we'd know better what needs to be done."

After this thought has been thoroughly explored, someone (and it may as well be you) is likely to suggest a full-dress meeting to talk the whole thing over. Such a proposal might run like this:

"This is a job for all the groups in town to tackle. If everybody pitches in, there's a good chance we'll be successful in wiping out some of the worst practices of discrimination. Cooperation is the American way of solving community problems.

"Let's call on other groups outside our own church, and get them to join us in holding a town meeting (or a neighborhood meeting, if you're in a big city). Let's invite everybody who might be able to help—the veteran posts and fraternal orders, labor unions and business associations, educational and religious societies, civic and political groups, women's clubs and youth organizations, social agencies and welfare leagues—every active club and federation in town.

"We've got a big job to do. This is a good way to get started!"

Once this idea starts percolating, it only remains for your group to select a small steering committee of 6 or 8 energetic souls who are ready to pitch in and carry on from here. This steering committee will have to line up teammates from every available quarter.



GETTING UP STEAM

Now, Plan Again!

Fed up with putting things on paper? Well, don't get discouraged. Every general needs a plan before he makes a move, and the same applies to you. Besides, if that first get-together of your own group has worked out as you mapped it, you ought to be feeling pretty good.

Now for the next objective.

This community meeting that's coming up has got to be a success. Which puts the load right where you suspected it would land all along—on you. And on the rest of the steering committee that was picked by your church group.

Get the members together and make them do what *you* did once before—set down the desired outcome of that crucial meeting. There are three main agreements that you'll want all the groups in town to arrive at.

First, on the need for action against discrimination.

Second, on a careful *community survey* or "audit" to size up the condition of civil rights, before any specific remedies are planned.

Third, that all of the groups will continue working together for as long a time as the job takes to do.

To get agreement on the first point won't be hard—providing the issue is put before the meeting in the proper way. Much depends on the chairman, who should be a recognized leader in the community, preferably one whose hat is not currently in any political ring. Your committee will want to call in leaders of other groups to consult on the selection of the chairman—and also on other important details, such as the planning of advance pub-

licity, the list of people to be invited, and the agenda.

Regardless of who the chairman may be, he will welcome a little briefing in advance of the meeting. Let him know you intend to give him all the support you can from the floor. Warn him, tactfully, against the danger of overdoing his job—that is, presenting the problem of discrimination in such a gloomy and melodramatic way that everyone will be floored by the immensity of the task.

Remind your chairman how a good coach sends a winning team into action—not with dire reminders of the opposition's strength, but rather with assurances that "my boys can't lose!"

Everybody concerned with the meeting should be on the alert not to let it degenerate into a "tsk-tsk" session—where everybody deplores the situation, but no wheels are set in motion to do anything constructive. That's why every step should be carefully planned in advance.

A catchy theme—"What's Wrong with Civil Rights?" is one, but you will probably think of others—is a great asset. This theme, and basic facts about the purposes of the meeting, the groups involved, the speakers and the eventual results expected, will be part of the advance publicity. See that your newspapers, the local radio station and every member of your prospective audience get all the details—and well ahead of time.

(For advice along these lines, see "Here's How It's Done," listed in the Appendix.)

Now, as to the second objective of the meeting—the launching of a community survey or "audit." Before making this proposal, be sure you're thoroughly posted on how such an audit is carried out. Here is the rough idea:

The Community Audit . . .

The community audit idea is not new, but it is just beginning to be widely used in connection with civil rights. Briefly, this is how it works:

1. A committee, made up of people from several representative groups in the community, is set up to conduct the audit.

2. Funds are provided for expenses—either through individual contributions or by each group on a share-and-share-alike basis. (Expense need not be large, since most of the work can be done by volunteers. The town of Montclair, N. J., recently did an audit for less than \$50.)

3. The committee decides on the areas it will explore—e.g., employment, education, housing, the administration of justice, health and hospital services, recreational and other public facilities.

4. Sub-committees or teams are appointed to collect the facts. They go into the field armed with plenty of tact, with questions and with strategies (such as arranging for a mixed white-Negro group to enter a restaurant, to learn if discrimination against Negroes will keep them waiting endlessly to be served. See material listed in Appendix for further examples). They spend a great deal of time and energy getting the facts.

5. When all the facts are in, the committee prepares its balance sheet—or audit—showing the assets and liabilities in the field of civil rights, and turns it over to the community. On the basis of this evidence it is possible to decide what practices need correction first.

Unless you already have facts and figures, *up to date*, on civil rights practices in your town, such a survey is a “must.” It is a guide that will be turned to over and over again. But it is not a project to be undertaken lightly or

hastily—or it may do more harm than good.

A leading sociologist who has worked on community surveys sends along these words of caution: A survey can become a controversial issue, so try at the beginning to get the support of every important group. Give every organization a chance to participate. Then all will have equal responsibility—and, let us hope, an equal sense of achievement. A solid audit will take from three to six months, so be sure you get off on the right foot.

Naturally, the best way to find out what a community survey looks like is to look at one! (See Appendix.) It would be wise, too, to have copies of a typical audit on hand to show to your co-workers.

There are a number of such surveys now available. One of the first in the field of civil rights was the Montclair (N. J.) community audit, launched by five community groups in 1947. Another study, done in greater detail, is the “Northtown Survey on Human Relations,” based on six months’ work in a New Jersey town. In Denver, Colorado, the Mayor’s Survey Committee on Human Relations did a four-month analysis of prejudice that is worth studying. Ever since 1944, the National Urban League, along with several cooperating agencies, has been making comprehensive surveys of such communities as New London, Conn.; Dayton, Ohio; Kansas City, Mo.; Charleston, S. C.; and Little Rock, Ark.—but solely in terms of the Negro population and its status.

Any one, or all, of these studies will help you set up your own machinery for checking on the local situation. Use them as guides, but don’t necessarily follow them exactly—for no two communities are exactly alike.

Partners ALL!

This brings us to the third hoped-for outcome of the meeting: a partnership agreement among all the groups in town “for the duration.” Here, again, the secret is *planning*.



Montclair, New Jersey, weighs its assets and liabilities in an audit which has become nationally famous.

Cooperation is like a delicate plant, needing careful cultivation before it's ready to bloom. So, get your committee started *early*, making the rounds of the various groups you're counting on for cooperation. If possible, the chairman or executive secretary of each group should be consulted personally by one of the members of your committee who is ready to answer questions and discuss the entire program in considerable detail.

If each committee member volunteers to make several such visits, you will win many important allies in advance of the town meeting, gaining valuable advice on the way. You may find that some groups, such as youth organizations, or labor unions, or veteran posts, have already taken the Civil Rights Report to heart and are brewing plans of their own. So much the better. They will be enthusiastic collaborators.

Before setting out on your calls, you will want to make a comprehensive list of all the organizations to be rounded up. This is where a few tips from Emily Post and Dale Carnegie will come in handy. Don't hurt anyone's feelings! If you're debating whether the

Tuesday Afternoon Sewing Circle or the Friday Fish Chowder Luneh Club are "heavy" enough, put them on your list anyway. Featherstitches or fish may not sound much like Civil Rights, but remember, you're out to win friends and influence people. And you'll be surprised at what the ladies who like to sew on Tuesdays, and the men who go for chowder on Fridays, can accomplish the rest of the week.

Your list of organizations, when completed, should be a full-length mirror of the whole community, faithfully reflecting the national and racial backgrounds, the religious affiliations, the occupational, cultural and social interests of the people in your town. On Page 64 (Appendix) are some of the pivotal groups to be found in most communities, in case you want to check your list for possible omissions. This, of course, is by no means an all-inclusive catalogue. Your town undoubtedly boasts many unique neighborhood organizations, not to be duplicated anywhere else in the country. The important thing to remember is *not* to leave any of them out!

KEEPING AT IT

Make Hay . . .

Now let's suppose that you have come to the time when the town survey is being made. It may take a few months or more. While this is going on, there is liable to be a lull in interest—unless somebody remembers to keep civil rights in the headlines.

That somebody may well be you—hand-in-glove with the publicity chairman or the secretary of each of the cooperating organizations. You can keep things moving during this interim period, if you all beat the drums together. Here are a few ideas:



First, get people *talking and thinking* about civil rights, just as they talk about the "new look" or the price of meat. Try *forum programs* for all kinds and sizes of groups, from the Chamber of Commerce (subject—"The High Cost of Discrimination") to the combined Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations along with the combined Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew Associations (subject—"How Do We 'Rate' with the Rest of the World?").

Try an *essay contest* on, let us say, "What Does 'Free and Equal' Mean to Me?" Get your biggest newspaper, or one of the large veteran posts, or a fraternal society to sponsor the contest and put up a prize. Let anyone over 16 years of age take part, and have the

winning essay printed in the newspaper and read over the radio. Choose your board of judges with an eye to publicity, inviting people like the mayor, the superintendent of schools, the head of the town council, or other newsworthy citizens to serve. In this way, you're really firing three shots—at the general public, at essential publicity outlets (which you'll need later), and at town dignitaries whose support will be helpful when you go all-out for civil rights reforms.

Try *library displays* of recent books, magazine articles and pamphlets on discrimination and ways to uproot it. Some folks will take a sample, and come back for more. Often "the pen is mightier," you know—or at least mighty enough to stir people who might otherwise never be budged.

Try *posters*, like those now being issued by the New York State Commission Against Discrimination (see Appendix). Put them up wherever people congregate—in the railroad station, in drug store windows, in factories and schools. They can be left there, too, because they carry a punch that will be useful during your campaign later on.

Try importing *speakers* who have something worthwhile to say on the subject of discrimination. Such men and women are comparatively rare birds, and may be a bit expensive—but big names will jam a hall and you can charge admission if necessary to cover expenses.

Most groups will want to do something while the survey is being made—not only to keep enthusiasm burning, but also to develop better understanding of the issues.





YOUR TOWN MEETS

ahead with it. And fourth, to settle the question of how any necessary expenses will be met.

The worst possible way to present the survey, of course, is to have someone stand up and read it word for word in the style of a treasurer's report. Unless the audit is quite short—and it seldom will be—you cannot hope to give it in full. Have mimeographed copies on hand for people to take home with them. But give the audience the over-all picture, the vital conclusions.

One way to handle the presentation is to have the chairman of each subcommittee—on housing, employment, education and other areas—tell his own story, and then let the chairman of the whole committee sum up. If you can, put the most important points on poster sheets and display them one by one, as each point is made. This kind of "exhibit" often makes facts stick in people's minds even better than the spoken word.

Now, when it comes time to vote on the areas you want to be tackled first, see to it that influential citizens speak up. It's human nature to follow the leaders in any community—whether they're society figures, industrial magnates, political luminaries, or whatever. If such men and women set the pace you will find a good many people clamoring for action who might otherwise never raise a finger. So encourage leaders who are interested in civil rights to express themselves at this meeting. Later on, get them to help in the actual work.

Keynote . . .

At some point, the chairman of the meeting—or the chairman of the survey committee—should sound the keynote: "Let's not forget, fellow citizens, that this job won't be any

Hear Ye!

While the pot's been kept boiling with these various activities, the survey committee has been spending long hours on its report. At last the great day arrives when the final word is written and the findings are ready to be aired. Now comes the time for a rousing town meeting. If the first one had to be *good*, this one has got to be *better*!

Every adult in town who can get there—and even those who think they can't (get the high-school girls to volunteer as "sitters" for young parents)—should be at this meeting. Which means, of course, that the sponsoring groups should do everything in their power to get their own members, their members' neighbors, the corner grocer, the teacher, the bus driver, and all their sisters and cousins and aunts to turn out that night.

This time, your planning committee should have *four* basic aims: First, to present the main facts of the town survey or "audit." Second, to arrive at a vote on the one, two, or at most, three areas of discrimination that need to be tackled at the start. Third, to get authorization for the survey committee to work out a Master Plan for action, and go

cinch. Discrimination stems from many sources. Sometimes it is rooted in false ideas about other races and creeds. Sometimes it results from snobbery or jealousy or both. More often, it springs from personal maladjustment—the urge of the discontented, the insecure, the frustrated to find outlets—or ‘scapegoats’—for their own shortcomings and grievances. These are deep-seated emotions, and they’ll be hard to dislodge.

“So let’s be sure that we have a solid plan. Let’s pick top-notch leaders—and let’s give them *all* our support. We can’t have drones in this kind of work. Everyone who volunteers should be ready to make big sacrifices in time and energy.

“Then” (your chairman will go on), “let’s remember that you seldom see a clean-cut ‘victory’ for civil rights. Education and more education—and legislation along with it—will be needed for a long time before we’re out of the quicksand and on solid ground. But every person who ‘sees the light’ represents a new ally. And every bad practice discarded through our efforts is an enemy conquered. Also, we aren’t alone in this fight. All over

our land, there are others like us devoting themselves to this task. We can look to them, as they in turn look to us, for inspiration and encouragement.”

It's a Vote...

After you’ve finished presenting the survey (and the chairman’s “keynote” too), the meeting will be ready for a vote on the specific areas to be tackled first.

If the audit indicates that discrimination is rife, in the employment field for instance, the clean-up campaign in this area will probably be a man-sized job—enough to keep everyone’s hands full at the start. On the other hand, if you have a large corps of efficient, willing volunteers with plenty of time and energy, you may want to strike out in two directions at once — say employment and health services. The folks at the meeting will decide, of course, because it is their town and they know best. Given the facts, they’ll vote wisely.

Next, you’ll want the meeting to elect a permanent steering committee to “carry on.” As a rule, the committee that made the town audit will be best qualified; if the members are willing, vote them in. The steering committee’s assignment, and this should be authorized at the meeting, is two-fold: first, to get up a Master Plan of action, and second, to put the Plan into operation as soon as it’s down on paper.

Also, since funds will be needed—even though the amount may be small—arrange for the necessary appropriation. Perhaps each organization in town will allocate a certain amount, based on the number of its members. Possibly the town council will help out. Or contributions may come in from private individuals. However it’s done, be sure the question of money is thrashed out and settled before the meeting is over.

Town Meeting





THE MASTER PLAN

Lay of the Land . . .

The town meeting is over. The vote's been taken. The steering committee has the community's green light to go ahead. So we reach the vital stage of setting up the Master Plan. You will want this to be as simple and yet as explicit as possible. It's like the campaign map of a battle, showing the lay of the land, with the objectives marked and step-by-step points plotted to reach them. If and when you set up an office (and you will surely want a central headquarters, however informal it may be), get someone to mount the Plan on a large bulletin board, marking the progress of the campaign for all to see as you go along. Here is what the Master Plan should include:

1. *A description of the target:* i.e., "discrimination in employment," "housing restrictions," "discrimination in health services," etc.

2. *The location of the target:* i.e., the private or public institutions where, according to the audit, discrimination has been found. For example: "Segregation is the rule in all public health clinics. Negro children in public schools X, Y and Z do not get health service comparable to that enjoyed by white children."

3. *The nature of the evidence:* "Miss D . . . , a Jewish high school graduate with excellent grades, was turned down at the nurses' training school even though she was highly recommended by her school principal and several doctors in town."

4. A diagnosis of the contributing factors:
“The board of trustees of College B have established a policy of religious discrimination in the appointment of professors. This policy is backed up by two large donors of funds, Mr. E. and Mr. F., both of whom refuse to employ Catholic or Jewish executives in their business firms.”

5. An analysis of the chief personalities:
This would include a listing of the persons surrounding the target, together with any evidence already gathered in the audit which might indicate their personal attitudes and the names of friends or business associates who might help you in making the most persuasive approach.

For example, in the case of public hospitals, the appropriate city officials should be set down, as well as the superintendent of each hospital and the doctors who head up the several major departments. For private hospitals, you will also note the trustees and, if possible, the most important financial contributors.

Sometimes such information will readily suggest the best way to win over key individuals.

6. A step-by-step listing of moves to make:
As you map your campaign, you will be marking two main highways toward Civil Rights: *Education* and *Legislation*. To make headway along either of these, you will need the support of *individuals* and also of *groups* at every step.

For example, if you want to convince the operators of moving-picture theatres that they should not segregate Negro patrons, you will plan to see *individuals*—the owners and managers of the theatres—and try to win them over to your point of view.

If one of your aims is Fair Employment Practices, you will plan to rally *groups* behind the necessary legislation—not only in your town, but also throughout the state, as was done in New York before the State Commis-

sion Against Discrimination was set up in 1945. (See Page 43.)

In moving toward legislation, you will need to make rapid progress on the road of education at the same time. Your strongest forces will be marshalled on both highways.

Words to the Wise . . .

No matter what—or who—your immediate objective may be, always remember to “accentuate the positive.” Put your emphasis on the encouraging side. In some communities, discrimination has been defacing the landscape for a good many years. It won’t be wiped out in a day. So appreciate every step forward for the real victory it is. Talk it up!

Also remember that most of your neighbors really want to “do the right thing.” But no one, however well-intentioned, will respond to threats, accusations, a negative approach.

And finally, never back down in your conviction that discrimination must go. You will hear all kinds of specious arguments justifying it; some may even sound “practical” at times. But remember this: there is no moral justification for inequality in this country—and that’s the crux of the matter.

One final word: If you find yourself stumped at any juncture in setting up the Master Plan, call for help! Your steering committee will discover many other people in town—some of them trained “experts,” others just capable citizens—who will be pleased and flattered to be called in. Their approval of the Plan, their advice as to strategy, “contacts,” and “leads” may hoist you over a good many hurdles when you get under way.

Now for the specific target areas that you’ll be aiming at. Read the pages that follow carefully before you complete the Master Plan.

EMPLOYMENT

How Do We Stand Today?

One of the two or three fields that will probably impress you as most in need of improvement is EMPLOYMENT. Perhaps you will decide to work in it first. Whether it is first or last on your list (and the order in which the facts on each area are presented in this handbook has nothing to do with their relative importance in your particular community), here are some facts about the employment situation today:

Look back a few years and you'll remember that during the war, and for a short time thereafter, so-called "minority" workers got a better break than ever before—or since. When labor was scarce, even the most narrow-minded employers welcomed workers they would formerly have turned down. The Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission—the F.E.P.C.—settled five thousand cases of discrimination in wartime employment with-

out recourse to any legal penalties. The U. S. Employment Service firmly refused to place workers in enterprises where discrimination was practiced. And the spirit of fellowship that was part of the national emergency proved a powerful influence in favor of fair play for qualified workers, regardless of race or creed.

Since VE Day, however, the skies have clouded again. In 1946, F.E.P.C. went out of existence when Congress failed to vote funds. Capable men and women, applying for openings in labor-scarce industries, once more heard those chilling words, "Sorry, nothing for you." Classified want-ads again carried phrases like "White Protestant," "Nordic," "Christian only" and other discriminatory specifications.

Today, some labor unions are keeping members out on the grounds of race, religion or national origin. Some employment agencies are similarly restricting their lists, where they

Fair employment practices in successful operation at Cyclohm Motor Plan, Long Island City, N. Y.



are not prevented from doing so by state law. In many communities, people who do hiring—from the personnel supervisor in a plant employing hundreds of workers to the corner grocer and the housewife next door—too often bow to prejudice in making their choice.

Such are the dark spots on the employment scene today. But this does not mean that the outlook is hopeless. Far from it. There is much you can do to improve or even transform the picture, providing you go at it in a thoughtful way.

Get the Story . . .

Before you plunge into any employment situation *be sure of your facts*. Gather the details from someone who has been personally involved, and put down the whole story in writing. Find out the set-up of the organization that discriminates (whether it be a manufacturing plant, a retail store or a labor union). Check up on the number of persons employed, the kind of work they do, the methods by which they are hired (as, for instance, through ads, employment agencies or personal referrals). You will need this later, when you get to see the men or women in charge of personnel practices.

Also, try to get a few side-lights on the personalities you will have to deal with, so you don't get off on the wrong foot. An ill-considered approach will often act like a blight, while the tactful one will be like sunshine on frozen ground. The only way you can plan effectively is to "know your man" before you meet him.

Now, with all the pertinent information well in hand, you have taken your first step. You have two moves ahead: to carry your facts to the key people; and to convince them to change their ways, which means reforming their employment policies.

Put It Across . . .

When you're ready to visit the business firm (or the newspaper publisher who permits discriminatory ads, or the union or an employment agency), remember these pointers:

Always try first to reach the man at the top. He's the one who gives the orders, and once he is convinced, there's a good chance that others in the organization will fall in line. Ask someone who is either a prominent citizen in the community, or a friend or associate of the "man at the top" to introduce you. In your interview, always be friendly, factual and firm.

Here are four key ideas you will want to put across:

(1) Discrimination bars many people with talent who would be an asset if given a chance.

(2) It keeps able workers at the bottom of the economic ladder, when they might otherwise hold down better paying jobs, increase their buying power and thus bring greater prosperity to the whole community.

(3) Discrimination in employment is the most harmful of all abuses in the field of civil rights, striking at a man's elementary right to earn a living, and improve his lot. Enlightened opinion, as expressed repeatedly by leaders of our nation, is overwhelmingly in favor of eliminating this un-American practice. As Eric Johnston, former president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, puts it: "Whenever we erect barriers on the grounds of race and religion . . . we hamper the fullest expansion of our economic society. Intolerance is poor economy. Prejudice doesn't pay. Discrimination is destructive."

(4) One of the most persuasive points you can make is that executives who have tried out "fair employment" policies have had excellent results; their doubts and fears about the reactions of employees, business associates,

customers and the general public have usually been found to be baseless. The best way to prove the validity of this observation is to cite actual success stories. The experience of Gary, Indiana, is a case in point.

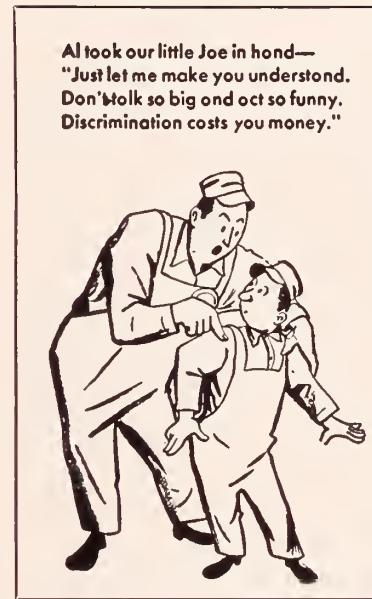
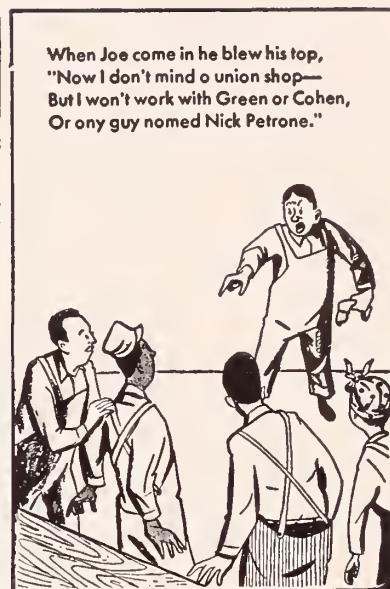
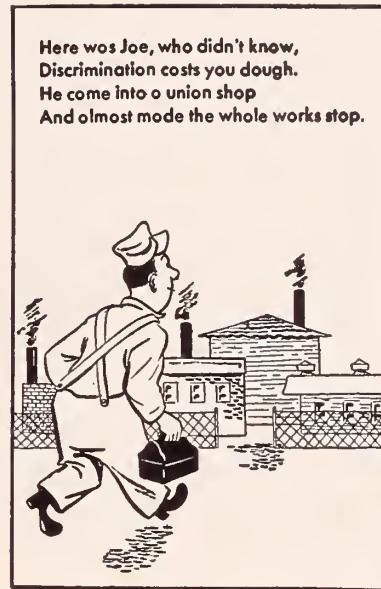
Gary Did It . . .

The Gary Chamber of Commerce, mindful of the fact that twenty-seven percent of the population is Negro, and that Negroes have a hard time finding good jobs, appointed a committee to tackle the problem. The chairman was a Methodist minister, the Rev. William Clark.

One of the Committee members was an executive of a Gary newspaper. When asked if he had ever employed a Negro reporter, this editor said: "Good heavens! That would blow my organization wide open!" It was pointed out to him that the committee could hardly go all-out against discrimination when its own members practiced it. He then agreed to engage a Negro reporter, providing someone with the right qualifications could be found. The committee located a young woman with excellent background.

When the editor called in his staff to tell them of his plan to hire a Negro, he said, "This is just an expression of Americanism. If anyone does not wish to go along, he's free to leave." Two women reporters said they would quit, to which he replied, "You may leave tonight." The two reporters thought it over, and decided to stay. Now they are working happily side by side with the Negro reporter.

The Gary committee then went to the executives of the local hosiery factories and asked if qualified Negroes were employed there. The answer was that Negroes couldn't handle the delicate and costly machinery. But the committee held its ground, and today some twenty Negroes are doing that work. In



From the picture booklet "Discrimination Costs You Money." Produced by National Labor Service and the United Auto Workers, CIO

the steel mills, the committee found that Negroes were employed only at unskilled labor. They succeeded in having these workers, when qualified, upgraded two categories.

When the Gary committee went to one of the large local department stores, they were told that white customers would not buy from Negro salesclerks. Pointing out that one out of every seven customers was a Negro, the committee persuaded the store executives to establish what is now a firm policy of non-discrimination.

Similarly, the policies of two Gary hospitals were drastically changed. Both hospitals announced they would accept Negro and white doctors on an equal basis.

It Happened in Baltimore...

Another successful move took place in Baltimore, Maryland, where one of the large insurance companies was regarded for years as a hotbed of religious discrimination. The Baltimore Jewish Council undertook to investigate and learned that there were five or six Jewish workers employed by the company—but they had been there for at least fifteen years. No other Jews had been hired in the intervening time, although the company had placed many “want” ads. About 700 men and women work for the firm.

After all the facts had been gathered, the president of another large life insurance company and the director of the Baltimore Jewish Council went to see a man they both knew—one of the top officials of the offending concern. They told him they were much disturbed at the persistent rumor of discrimination. They pointed out that, if the rumor was unfounded, it ought to be scotched once and for all. On the other hand, they said, if the rumor was true—and the management could easily investigate it—then surely company policy would be changed.

The official who was interviewed looked into the matter. He found that the company's application blanks asked for the religious affiliation of each jobseeker. He learned that subordinate hiring officials were guilty of prejudice. The chairman of the board was given the facts, and promptly took action.

All employment application blanks calling for religious affiliation were ordered destroyed immediately. The company announced that it would look with disfavor on any form of religious discrimination. A centralized personnel bureau was established and, to make assurance doubly sure, details went to every branch office of the company all over the country.

In Columbus, Too...

In Columbus, Ohio, the Vanguard League (composed of 1,000 men and women of all backgrounds) describes itself as having only one technique—“interracial, non-violent direct action.” The League chooses a specific target, then uses every weapon to reach it.

During the war, the League scored several direct hits in the field of employment. In February, 1942, it filed affidavits with the Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission, charging racial discrimination at a large airplane plant. By April, 1942, the plant was employing Negro girls. Later that year, the League was instrumental in persuading the Western Union offices in Columbus to hire Negro messengers. The League is now deep in the task of persuading the utility companies to end discrimination in their ranks.

...and in Pittsburgh

In Pittsburgh, Pa., the National Urban League, an inter-racial organization that has done fine work, joined with the Interracial Action Council in a dramatic campaign to per-

suade the leading department stores to hire Negroes as salesclerks.

It all started in 1944 when, as part of its Vocational Opportunity Campaign, the Urban League talked with personnel managers of the city's large department stores. The store executives feared that the public would not accept Negroes as salesgirls, and that other clerks would resent the change in policy. The Interracial Action Council tested these assertions. Its first poll, among customers, showed that eighty-five percent were not opposed to Negro clerks. A poll of employees showed that seventy-five percent were willing to work with Negroes. Both AFL and CIO unions in the stores pledged support of the new idea while leaders of the city's important women's groups likewise expressed approval.

These facts were given to the department store officials. Conferences were held and letters written, but no action came. Finally, in 1946, the Interracial Action Council and the Urban League decided, as a last resort, to make a public issue of the matter.

Representatives of some twenty powerful groups joined to form the Committee for Fair Employment in Pittsburgh Department Stores. Hundreds of post cards protesting the policy of discrimination were sent to store executives. More than 35,000 throwaways headed "We're Mad—How About You!" were distributed, attracting widespread notice. Telegrams and telephone calls from white and Negro, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish citizens flooded the stores. Organizations and prominent citizens sent letters of protest.

When the stores still failed to act, the Committee decided to demonstrate—and just during the height of the Christmas shopping season, too. It recruited and carefully trained its supporters, got a police permit, had placards printed and, after informing the stores, the Mayor and the unions of its plans, marched at the stated time. White and Negro veterans, clergymen, social workers, and news-



Fair Employment

paper editors were among the marchers. The effect on press and public was tremendous.

On January 3, 1947, the Committee met for a conference with the management of the stores. Within three weeks there was issued a firm statement promising to hire and upgrade Negro employees according to their ability, and stating that "the practice will be that of no discrimination." Within a few weeks, three of the stores hired Negro girls to work in popular departments as salesclerks. More progress is constantly being made along the same lines.

The Voice of Experience . . .

Out of this experience, the Urban League offers several "essentials" that apply in *any* area when efforts at persuasion and conciliation fail to bring results and public pressure is resorted to. Here they are:

Large-scale community education preceding direct action. The press, the churches, the unions, and other community organizations all participate in that process.

Campaign conducted on a definite schedule. Each step planned, each a shade more drastic than the one before.

Key organizations get help from other groups. In the end, thousands of persons are involved, and it becomes truly a community project.

Everything is talked over with unions, newspapers and employees, *before* action is taken. Thus, even where there may be no positive result, there is no unfavorable reaction.

And finally, the Committee follows through. It advises the stores in selecting the first salesclerks and integrating them with the other workers. It secures the aid of union officials. Later, it holds a dinner for the new clerks and urges them to remember their responsibility to those who come after them.

Essentially the same results were accomplished by the Urban League and other *cooperating organizations in Providence, R. I., Chattanooga, Tenn. and other cities* where department store employment habits have changed for the better. Which proves once more how effective is joint action! And which also underscores a thought worth setting down right now: Don't forget that the national offices of some of the organizations you may belong to—like the Urban League, the Y.W.C.A., the American Jewish Committee, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the Anti-Defamation League—will probably have ideas, materials and perhaps even staff consultants ready to help you. Let them know when you begin your work, and get all the services they have to offer.

Following Through . . .

Now let us assume that your "prospects"—whether business executives, union officials, newspaper editors, or employment agency managers—are fired with enthusiasm by the persuasive arguments you have advanced. What shall you ask them to do next?

Tell them, without more ado, to:

(1) Adopt a policy of "merit—and merit only," with no questions asked about race or creed.

(2) Remove all discriminatory references from application blanks, company records and newspaper ads.

(3) Inform all employment agencies, training schools, colleges, unions and other sources of new workers that the race, religion and national origin of prospective job applicants are not to be considered—that only ability is important.

(4) Include the "merit only" idea wherever possible in employee training programs, company literature and any other outlet that will be useful in doing a good educational job.

(5) When a union has agreed to cooperate, suggest that a program of education be launched for the members; that the constitution and by-laws be amended to exclude discrimination of any kind; that influence be brought to bear on employers to include non-discrimination clauses in collective bargaining contracts.

In addition, you will want to work wherever you can with the public agencies in the field. If there is a Fair Employment Practices Commission, or similar agency, in your city or state, use its facilities whenever feasible—consult with the staff on ways of presenting your story, ask for material they may have on file that will help bolster your case, consult on plans for future action, and so on. (See the section on Legislation, Page 42, for advice on how to establish a Fair Employment Practices Commission if there is none in your state.) Also visit the nearest office of the U. S. Employment Service and ask the people in charge what their experience has been in dealing with discrimination.



HOUSING

A Distressing Picture . . .

Now we approach the question of housing, one of the basic necessities of life and one of the most perplexing of all areas in which discrimination exists. For here the problem has often been complicated by long-standing, so-called "legal" agreements, perpetuated from year to year by mutual consent among property-owners, tenants, real estate agents and local real estate boards.

In the past such agreements have forbidden the sale or rental of homes to members of certain groups, generally Negroes, Chinese and Japanese-Americans, Mexicans, Filipinos and Indians. Some of these agreements or "restrictive covenants" also affected certain religious groups.

Here is an example of how this unfair practice persisted: A few years ago, in Detroit,

Mich., one of the local home owners associations took action to oust a mother and her eight children from their home, because both she and her husband had Chinese mothers—although their fathers were "pure white." The association's agreement on residence in the area restricts it to persons of "pure, white, unmixed, Caucasian race." The president of the association said: "It is an unfortunate situation. She is a brave, sensitive, highly-educated and well-liked person. But we are forced to act. . . ."

The housing picture was drastically changed by a recent decision of the United States Supreme Court on May 3, 1948. The Court ruled that the judicial enforcement of racial restrictive covenants violates the Constitution. This, it is believed, will destroy the restrictive covenant as an instrument of discrimination. Meanwhile, however, do not relax your vigilance, since it is possible that other devices of discrimination may violate the spirit of the Supreme Court's ruling.

The Remedies . . .

There are two major ways to fight discrimination in housing: by persuasion of the key individuals or groups that are practicing it, and by education. In both cases the strategy will depend on your judgment of the local scene—the personalities and problems.

Because discrimination in housing is frequently rooted in fear—that property values will depreciate, with consequent loss of money—it is usually difficult to break down. Ignorance is another factor. You will find that few people know how successfully *non-discrimination* is already working out in communities throughout the country where, in some instances, legislation prohibits discrimination in homes built with public funds, or in housing projects which enjoy freedom from local taxation. In fact there are nearly one hundred and

fifty public housing projects in the United States where Negroes and whites are living happily side by side, and, in most cases, have been doing so for more than a decade.

Facts, Facts—and More Facts!



Here are some interesting facts, as recorded in "People v. Property," a study made in 1947 (see Appendix for further details):

Although two of the stock arguments against selling or renting to Negroes are, first, that they do not take good care of property, and second, that they are not reliable, a study made by the National Association of Real Estate Boards shows that experienced real estate men themselves do not support these assertions. In thirteen cities out of eighteen, real estate experts admitted that Negroes take good care of property if it is in good repair when they obtain it—and all but one said "Yes" to the question, "Does the Negro make a good home buyer and does he carry through his purchases to completion?"

Questions like these, by the way, might be asked of your real estate men when you talk with them about discrimination in your town. It may help them to see the light.

And Good Arguments . . .

Other points to be made are these: segregated neighborhoods of any kind are un-American and unsafe. When people are crowded together into a small area, as Negroes often are in the United States, there is bound to be deterioration all along the line—in standards of upkeep, in morality, sanitation and health. But the fault does not lie with the inhabitants as much as with those who put them there. Race riots do not spring out of "deviltry"; they come after years of repression, frustration and neglect.

You might make your point in these words from "People v. Property": "A further danger lies in the isolation of one part of the community from another . . . we are continuing to maintain, in our local communities, practices which determine that one racial group shall be separated from another not only in living, but in going to school, to church and in the give and take of daily living which promotes understanding . . . isolation breeds misunderstanding and antagonism which at times have flared into destructive violence, as in the Detroit race riots, where damage, violence and looting were concentrated in segregated areas, both white and Negro, but were almost non-existent in areas where both races lived together."

So far as you can, prove to your property owners and managers that the persons they discriminate against are usually good financial risks—that they know how to care for property and maintain high neighborhood standards; that they are good neighbors and upstanding citizens. Stress the social dangers of segregation in terms of delinquency and

disease. And "point with pride" to those neighborhoods where people of different races and creeds live harmoniously side by side.

Success Story in New York...

People in New York City, for example, look with satisfaction at the South Jamaica project, run by the City Housing Authority in one of the worst slum districts. There, for eight years, nearly 450 white and Negro families have been living peacefully as next-door neighbors. Their children go to the same

school and play happily together. The grown-ups—many of whom are members of the tenants' organization—help each other out as good neighbors do everywhere and join in social gatherings. One of them, a truck driver and the father of four children, sums up the prevailing spirit: "I visit with my colored friends, and they visit me. Some housewives have keys to each other's apartments and help each other with the children. Every once in a while I run into a sorehead. It makes no difference what his color is, I leave him alone."

Modern housing project for Spanish-American families, Austin, Texas





EDUCATION

The Goal...

Just as every American is entitled to an "even break" in looking for a job or a home, so too every young American is entitled to an education. We expect—indeed we insist—that every boy and girl go to school. And the public schools we provide for them are supposed to be not only free but also equal—equally available to all, equally staffed with competent teachers, equally supplied with basic equipment. Any inequalities in these essential particulars are excusable only on the grounds that some communities are able to afford better schools than others. In those unfortunate areas where the schools are admittedly deficient, the aim, nevertheless, is to supply whatever facilities are available to all children alike, regardless of race, creed or social status.

That has always been the goal of free public education in the United States. But the record shows that in many sections of the country it is still to be reached.

From all sides come reports of discrimination—from the Civil Rights Report itself, from

the report of the President's Commission on Higher Education, from civic and religious groups.

In many communities, discrimination is glaringly evident in the segregation of colored and white children, which not only separates the groups physically, but also creates different levels of education.

While segregation exists, you will find, with rare exceptions, poorer school buildings and equipment, larger classes, lower-salaried teachers, shorter school terms and a generally "minus" status in every respect for Negro children. Even in those states where white children are not getting all they should from their schools, the Negro children—and the American Indians, and the Mexican-Americans—get much less. Where segregation is not practiced in the schools, you will find that the most crowded, the most run-down schools are in those underprivileged and congested neighborhoods where Negroes are obliged to live.

In the colleges and professional schools, the situation is just as bad, according to the President's Commission on Higher Education.

This group of outstanding civic and educational leaders spent a year and a half on the most comprehensive and dependable survey of recent years. The Commission's findings, released in December, 1947, showed that the schooling of Negroes is significantly below that of whites all along the line, from the first grade through college. But at the college level, the difference is especially marked. For example, in 1940, 11 percent of the white population twenty years of age and over had completed at least one year of college, while among the non-whites (over 95 percent of whom are Negroes) the figure was only slightly more than 3 percent.

Even more striking is the picture in the country's 77 medical schools. In 1946, 5,826 physicians were graduated. Of these, only 154 were Negroes and all but 20 of these were from the two Negro schools, Howard University and Meharry Medical College.

Of a total of 1,280 nursing schools in the country, 28 admit Negroes only, 38 admit Negro and white students, and the remaining 1,214 are for whites only.

In education, as in other fields, discrimination strikes hardest at Negroes. But racial bigotry is not the whole story. Prejudice based on religion or national origin also excludes many qualified students from colleges and professional schools. This is accomplished for the most part by means of a "quota" system, under which students of specified religious faiths or national origins are limited to a fixed percentage of the entire student body.

Too Much "Double Talk" . . .

This ugly practice in the field of higher education is a very elusive thing to pin down. For example, although medical deans privately acknowledge a "quota system," not one of the 78 Grade A medical colleges in the United

States and Canada would admit this in writing on a questionnaire, except the Southern schools which declared that they exclude Negroes.

Usually, when a student with good or even top-notch marks is turned down by a college board of admissions, he is given all kinds of reasons. He may be told he didn't make the grade because of character or personality defects. He may be told that there are regional quotas, limiting the number of students from any one part of the country. All of which may be valid grounds for rejection. Too often, however, such explanations are used as camouflage for racial or religious prejudice.

This is the conclusion that Dr. Dan Dodson came to in the course of his investigations as executive director of the Mayor's Committee on Unity in New York. In an article on "College Quotas and American Democracy" which appeared in *The American Scholar* in 1946, he said:

"Many schools are not open in admitting that they practice discrimination. Several, in order to hold down enrollment of youths representing certain ethnic backgrounds, have undoubtedly hidden behind the screen of national quotas, under the pretext of spreading their contribution to the entire United States. Regional quotas, however defensible they may be as an educational device, can be, and in my opinion are, used in many instances as a pretext for practicing discrimination."

The President's Committee on Civil Rights came out flatly with this statement:

"It is clear that there is much discrimination, based on prejudice, in admission of students to private colleges, vocational schools and graduate schools."

It is noteworthy, for example, that the application blanks of many colleges and universities include questions pertaining to the candidate's racial origin, religious preference, parents' birthplace, and so on. In many of our northern educational institutions, the enroll-

ment of Jewish students never seems to exceed certain fixed points.

The Committee on Civil Rights pointed to the medical schools in New York City as an example of what goes on. One witness, a member of a medical school's admission committee, admitted that prejudice against Irish Catholics affected his judgment and there was considerable evidence of prejudice against Jews. Americans of Italian descent also have difficulty getting into medical schools.

By this time you're probably asking that ever-persistent question, "What to do about it?" Well, let's start with the public schools first; and once again, Gary, Indiana, points the way.

The Schools Take a Stand . . .

Back in 1943, some of Gary's thoughtful citizens became disturbed at the situation in their schools. They studied it for some time. Then, in 1945, the School Board asked the Bureau for Intercultural Education, the foremost organization of its kind, to help plan a program to do away with racial discrimination and segregation. Just as work began, trouble developed in Froebel High School, at that time the only non-segregated public school in

Children aren't born with prejudices.

town. White students staged a walk-out—and some parents backed them, fearing a loss in property values in the school district.

The Superintendent of Schools immediately called on public-spirited individuals and organizations to resist the walk-out. The Mayor backed him. The *Gary Post-Tribune* spoke up against the truants. All-Out Americans, an organization of elementary school children of all races and creeds, joined forces with the adult groups. In fact, practically every responsible body in the community lined up—one hundred in all—in a Unity Council.

Finally, the students returned to school; and in May, 1947, the School Board adopted this policy: "Children under the jurisdiction of the Gary Public Schools shall not be discriminated against in the school districts in which they live, or within the schools which they attend, because of race, color or religion. . . . The Board is determined to end discrimination in public schools, and to adopt such measures as may be deemed advisable and necessary to put a program of equal access to education into effect."

But this did not end the matter. When, in September, 1947, Negro children were transferred into six formerly all-white schools, a wave of truancy broke out once again. The worst spot was Emerson High School, where 1,300 of the 1,700 students walked out.

But this time the leaders of the town were ready. A group of citizens, representing more than twenty organizations, formed a temporary citizens' council to rally the public behind the School Board's ruling. The *Post-Tribune* again backed the School Board, in spite of cancelled subscriptions by indignant parents of stay-at-homes. In the newspapers and elsewhere, the defiant children were not called "strikers," which might have dignified their behavior, but were frankly and accurately described as "truants." The local prosecutor warned that parents who disregarded truancy notices would be charged with contributing to juvenile delin-



quency. Clergymen, labor officials and other group leaders in all parts of town spoke up against prejudice and for democracy. By the end of the second week, the crisis was over.

The teachers find the new policy working out well. Gary may be faced with parent or student opposition when that policy is extended to other schools in the future. But the alert citizens who fought for equality in 1945 and 1947 will certainly be ready to stand firm again, if the need arises.

Cue to the Colleges . . .

A good example of similar forthright action in the field of higher education is a recent episode at the College of the City of New York. In the fall of 1947, the Army Hall Residents Council appealed to the president of the college to end the "segregation policy" in the Army Hall dormitory, where students live and have their meals. The official undergraduate newspaper, *The Campus*, took up the cudgels, demanding an investigation. A committee of faculty members, after a four-months investigation, said in its report, "It is inherent in our democracy and the goals of democratic education which City College pursues that involuntary segregation of individuals on the basis of . . . color or religious beliefs is detrimental not only to the individuals so segregated, but to the institution as a whole."

The president of the college announced that henceforth Army Hall would be administered by his office, with Negro students living and dining alongside white students, in complete equality.

Your First Mores . . .

Your first move, as always, is to get the facts. Have off-the-record talks with school teachers and college professors, with members of your school board and with trustees of near-

by colleges. Don't let emotion sway your discussions. Do likewise with students who have met with unfair practices. Get their personal histories. Get copies of the application blanks they filled out, the letters turning them down, and any other pertinent evidence you can put your hands on.

Then decide on whom you want to see.

If your problem is centered in the public schools, your list will include the members of your school board, the superintendent of schools, the officials of the parent-teacher associations and the heads of all other organizations that interest themselves in the schools.

If you are concerned with a college or professional school in your vicinity, you will want to see the president, dean or registrar—maybe all three; members of the board of trustees; large donors (if it's a private institution); editors of college publications, and influential alumni.

This list by no means covers all the personalities involved in public schools and colleges, but it gives you an idea. Get introductions, if you can, from people who are trusted and respected by those you plan to see.

Present your story tactfully, without rancor or exaggeration. Tell it as often as you think is necessary. Of course, all these approaches will be accompanied by a variety of moves to inform public opinion, which you will find summarized later on in this handbook.

Questions and Answers . . .

You'll find as you go along that certain "stock" arguments crop up, especially in relation to professional schools and colleges. Some of them may sound pretty convincing for a while—or would, if you didn't know the answers.

For example, someone is bound to say that colleges simply reflect the prejudices of their students—that if more than a "quota" of

certain applicants were admitted, others would stay away. Then, so the argument goes, the former "quota" people would "overrun the school." There are several answers to this one:

First, much of the argument is pure supposition—"if" and more "if." Second, the young people who go to any college are much more progressive than the older folk who run it, and that's an important factor. Finally, any concentration of one racial or religious group in non-quota schools would come about only because people naturally gravitate to places that admit them. If *all* students were permitted to enter *all* schools solely on the basis of ability and character, no such issue would arise.

Here are some more questions that will come up, and some of the answers to them:

(1) How about job placement after school? Members of certain groups meet with racial and religious prejudice in many professional and business fields. You do a great disservice to the student if you permit him to invest his time and money preparing for a profession or occupation in which he will probably be unable to gain a foothold.

There are several answers to this. We look to our educational system to develop our youth to its fullest capacity—to raise the ladder of opportunity for every young person. If the colleges compromise with this ideal, yielding to the prejudices of the community, priceless skills and talents are lost to the nation. And finally, the courageous individual who is willing to risk the hazards of racial and religious prejudice in order to follow the profession of his choice should surely be applauded and encouraged rather than rebuffed by the colleges. Otherwise, as the Commission on Higher Education puts it, "Education may become the means, not of eliminating race and class distinctions, but of deepening and solidifying them."

(2) How about "geographic" representation? Good colleges want to have students of

all races and creeds and from all sections of the country. This is the reason for "geographic quotas" limiting the number of students from any one locality. Such quotas, while not aimed at "minority" groups, admittedly tend to exclude those groups which happen to be concentrated in certain geographic areas.

The answer is that this argument, while sound on the surface, too often serves as an easy "dodge" for unfair discrimination. Ask the person who advances it if Negroes are included in the quotas for all the many sections of the country where Negroes live. Ask if it is wise to exclude talented students from making their contribution to American life simply because of the locality they come from. Point out that only when every worthy applicant can compete on an equal basis for entry into school, will we be utilizing the talents of our people to the utmost.

(3) How about "proportional" representation?

Whenever the quota system is defended, it is often argued that there ought to be some correlation between the number of students of any racial or religious strain and the proportion of that race or religion in the general population.

The logic of this argument vanishes when it is exposed to any realistic scrutiny. It proposes that Americans be sorted out on the basis of race or creed and that a limitation should be placed on the contribution of every racial or religious element to the whole of society—with the further implication that Jewish doctors, for instance, should cure only Jews, that Italian doctors should cure only Italians, and so on. Carrying this thought to its most absurd conclusion—why not divide up the whole population into racial and religious groups and assign all the professions and occupations on the basis of quotas?

Well, if practices like this make little sense, their consequences make even less. The

Commission on Higher Education sums it up this way: "Discriminatory practices deprive the nation of a great variety of talent, create and perpetuate serious inequalities and generate dangerous tensions."

Influence Helps . . .

Now, to get back to *methods*. The chief focus of your attack on the college situation will be the way *admissions* are handled. That is where discrimination always begins. Therefore, try to reach influential people both on and off the campus. Try to line up one important member of the board of trustees and get him to write to his fellow members. If he encloses an impressive piece of literature (like "Racial and Religious Discrimination in Education," by Robert Redfield—see Appendix) with his letter, so much the better. It is something to keep, read and ponder.

Try the same kind of letter-writing campaign with alumni. They are usually a potent group when aroused. Get influential citizens to write and talk to college authorities.

In the course of all this, you may find it useful to quote authorities. Some of the national organizations in the field of education will supply you with fine material. Your local newspaper office and library are other good sources. Keep your eyes open when reading your paper or listening to your radio; you will be surprised at how many quotable items you can pick up yourself.

Recently, for instance, the *New York Times* reported a talk by Dr. Harold Taylor, president of Sarah Lawrence College, in which he urged colleges to break down the obstacles to talent.

"A fair law against discrimination . . . can do no harm to those not guilty of prejudice, and can serve to stiffen the moral fiber of those who are guilty but feel they cannot help it," Dr. Taylor said. "Only by clearing the path to

education can we keep America an open and mobile society. Only in this way can we gain the finest educational leadership . . ."

Just recently, Dr. Thomas Parran, former Surgeon-General of the Public Health Service, called attention to the current and anticipated shortage of medical personnel in all fields. "Assume," says Dr. Parran, "that in the twelve states having the highest ratio of doctors to population there is no surplus. If we bring the remaining thirty-six states up to their average, we shall need by 1960 from 50,000 to 55,000 more doctors than there are in prospect. To make even the beginning on a proper dental care program, the number of dentists, now about 75,000, would have to be doubled."

With a deficiency of such magnitude staring us in the face can the nation afford to deny a medical or dental education to a qualified student because of his race, religion or national origin?

Of course the perfect statement will always be one from someone well known or closely associated with your community. Try to get and use such quotes as often as you can.

Youth Points the Way . . .



Never forget that you have ready at hand in the colleges and universities—and in many high schools — strong student groups. Some have national affiliations. Some fraternities and sororities are quite powerful, too. Sell them on your cause, and you will have excellent allies. For, added to the fact that campus



Three Harvard Marshals: Top permanent officers elected by the class of 1948. From left to right: Chester M. Pierce, Ray A. Goldberg, Walter Coulson.

organizations always rate high with students, the amount of energy and enthusiasm young people can put into a campaign that excites their interest is almost boundless!

Some of the fraternities are already cleaning house within their own ranks. At the University of Minnesota, for instance, the Inter-Fraternity Council is polling its members on the question of abolishing discrimination. On that campus, Kappa Beta Pi, the legal sorority, has acted independently of its national headquarters in removing the clause barring Negroes.

The Amherst story is a good one too: Authorities at that college asked all 13 fraternities to drop racial and religious discrimination. All agreed. But the national headquarters of Delta Tau Delta turned thumbs down, telling the Amherst chapter to ignore the local rule or turn in its charter. Whereupon D.T.D. withdrew from its parent body, became the Kappa Theta society, and is now operating independently—and successfully—along with the other Amherst fraternities.

At the University of Washington, the faculty senate adopted a regulation forbidding racial and religious discrimination in campus fraternities and sororities.

Another interesting development came recently at Harvard University, where the five permanent officers of the class of 1948, chosen by ballot of the students, represent just about every group in the general population. They include Ray A. Goldberg of Fargo, N. D., son of a Dakota seed-and-grain dealer; Chester M. Pierce of Glen Cove, L. I., N. Y., son of a Negro staff member of a country club; Walter Coulson, of Lawrence, Mass., son of a physician; Levin H. Campbell, III, of Short Hills, N. J., son of a lawyer, and Richard T. Gill, of Long Branch, N. J., son of a testing engineer. None of these boys attended the "prep" schools that have furnished Harvard leaders in the past.

This is just one of many straws in the wind, evidence of a new and healthy spirit that is felt across the country.

Other Strong Allies . . .

See what you can do with the professional societies in your community. They often have a strong voice in shaping the policies of medical, dental, law, engineering and other professional schools. Work first with your local branches. Get resolutions passed. Line up people who are qualified to speak at state, regional and national conventions. Give them printed material and brief them with facts and arguments that will highlight their case. Secure the endorsements of prominent citizens, so they can feel the community is backing them.

Remember that college authorities are usually influenced not only by public pressure but also by *who* among the public is exerting pressure.

The Law— A Fallow Field . . .

As for legislation, you will find it a fallow field. So much is waiting to be done! Only recently, two great states—New Jersey and

New York—have made splendid progress along these lines. Other states are at work now.

New Jersey's experience is an excellent example of how groups in a community can join successfully for civil rights. It began in the summer of 1947, when a Constitutional Convention was held. Groups concerned with civil rights realized that here was a fine opportunity to draw up civil rights provisions for the new State Constitution. They brought the fruit of their efforts before the Convention and, as a result, the New Jersey Constitution now provides that "no person shall be denied the enjoyment of any civil or military right, nor be discriminated against in the exercise of any civil or military right, nor be segregated in the militia or in the public schools, because of religious principles, race, color, ancestry or national origin." Also, the constitution says: ". . . no religious or racial test shall be required as a qualification for any office or public trust."

During the 1948 session of the state legislature, the question of implementing these civil rights provisions was brought up. Legislative measures were needed. Thereupon, the Essex County Intergroup Council, which includes some 25 organizations working for better human relations, called a state-wide meeting. Groups of all kinds came to talk it over. Forty of them set up the Joint Council for Civil Rights, and backed a proposed new bill. Since then, twenty additional statewide groups have approved it. The Governor of New Jersey has come out for it. Now the Joint Council is helping to push it through the state legislature.

Another Milestone to Follow . . .

In New York State, there are long-standing measures on the statute books prohibiting discrimination among students, teachers and other workers in the *public* schools. In 1947

an effort was made by interested individuals and groups to push through a law barring discrimination in private institutions. The effort failed.

In 1948, a differently worded bill was backed by many groups. By the middle of March, New York State had a law outlawing racial discrimination in non-sectarian private colleges.

In broad outlines, the New York law gives the Commissioner of Education authority to investigate complaints pertaining to discriminatory practices in admissions to colleges and universities. This Commissioner also has the power to launch investigations on his own when he has reason to believe that discrimination exists in a college or university.

As a first step, the Commissioner calls a conference to iron out the problem through persuasion and conciliation.

If the conference fails, the case is referred to New York's Board of Regents. This body has the right to issue a complaint and call a public hearing. On the basis of the evidence, the institution involved may be required to stop discriminatory admission practices.

If the institution fails to comply, the Board may turn to the State Supreme Court for enforcement.

This bill, the first of its kind on the statute books of any state, is a milestone in civil rights legislation. And there is every reason to believe that other states will follow suit in the near future.

Although we would all prefer to see our institutions of learning *voluntarily* adapt their ways to democratic patterns, it is reasonably clear that many will change their policies only under legal compulsion. As a result of its findings, the Commission on Higher Education came to the conclusion that "to assure a universal and equal regard for a policy of non-discrimination, the legal method becomes both fair and practical."

THE RIGHT TO VOTE

Have We Got It?

If someone asked the average American whether every citizen in this country has the right to vote, he would probably say "Why, of course!" It is true that our laws provide that right, and as a nation we have always aimed to assure it to all our citizens. But here is what the Committee on Civil Rights reports:

"In theory the aim has been achieved, but in fact there are many back-waters in our political life where the right to vote is not assured . . . The franchise is barred to some citizens because of race; to others by institutions or procedures which impede free access to the polls . . ."

Until recently, the "white primary" was one of the most widely used devices of preventing Negroes from voting. In 1944, the Supreme Court held it illegal. Some of the states which had adopted this system bowed to the Court's ruling. Others didn't.

One of these was South Carolina, which took the primary election out of all state laws and left it up to the political parties. But the Circuit Court in an opinion by Judge John J. Parker decided the plan was illegal. An application to the Supreme Court for certiorari was denied, which means that the Circuit Court's decision is the law in that jurisdiction.

In Alabama, "qualifications" were set up, under which would-be voters could be barred by the decision of an examiner if he found them unable to "understand and explain" the state constitution. This is a familiar device in the South. Usually, such tests are forgotten when white voters come to register.

Then of course, there is the poll tax—which serves to bar a good many "poor whites," as well as Negroes, from voting. Seven south-



No money to vote

ern states still have this tax on their books, but the movement against it is gaining momentum. There is now before Congress the latest in a long series of anti-poll tax bills, which would help to end this injustice.

Finally, we find that violence and intimidation of varying degrees keep Negroes from voting in many places. Men and women who are qualified citizens are "advised" to keep away from the polls—and such have been the techniques of terror and reprisals, that few dare to ignore this "advice."

Also, let us not forget that in New Mexico and Arizona, Indians do not exercise their le-



Democracy in Practice

gal franchise. In one state, "Indians not taxed" cannot vote. In the other, Indians are classified as "persons under guardianship," and cannot vote for that reason. But the constitutionality of these laws is now being tested.

Pitching In . . .

There are two ways to do something about this basic civil right. First, you can query candidates for public office on their stand, and yourself vote only for those who want all the people in your community to enjoy their rights as citizens. Second, you can work for remedial legislation. If there is a poll tax in your com-

munity, or a "white primary," see the legislation section of this handbook (Page 42) for ways to initiate legal remedies and to put pressure on the right places.

Also, you will want—both individually and with your group—to go on record with your representatives in Congress, in favor of abolishing the poll tax in federal elections. You will want to line up prominent individuals in your community and your state, to "second the motion."

Here are some of the arguments you will use:

(1) It is contrary to our ideals, and above all to the law of the land, to deny qualified citizens the right to vote.

(2) Self-government depends upon the fully expressed will of all the people. When qualified citizens are not allowed to vote, the foundation of self-government is undermined.

(3) How can we rightfully demand "free elections" in other countries if our own are subject to criticism?

(4) One look at the fascist and communist elections abroad should be enough to convince us that tricky legal loopholes and the use of terror at election time are part of a technique that all Americans despise.

In neighborhoods where intimidation is feared, you might post watchers at the polls. You can speak up to—and check up on—properly qualified officials in polling places. You can impress political party leaders with the fact that you're on your toes and won't tolerate improper interference with the ballot.

And you might also consider organizing "Free Vote" squads of public-spirited men in your community, who will work to abolish the shameful practice of intimidation. In some southern states, white voters have accompanied Negro voters to the polls to register.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

How Do We Stand?

Justice too often belies its name in many sections of the country where racial discrimination breaks out in mob violence, police brutality, and even pushes its way into courts of law.

In 1947, the Committee on Civil Rights found that "lynching remains one of the most serious threats to the civil rights of Americans." In some communities, where unscrupulous or undisciplined police officers feel they can "get away with it," terroristic methods, including the third degree, are by no means things of the past. Some judges are known to hand out extra-heavy fines and sentences whenever the offenders are colored. And jury lists are often rigged to exclude "unwanted" persons—thus making a mockery of the Anglo-Saxon tradition of trial by a jury of one's peers.

A dismal picture; but intelligent action can brighten it. If ever there was an area where careful investigation, thoughtful activity and lots of patience will "pay out" in the end, this is it.

Getting the Story . . .

First, find out as best you can what the situation is in your neighborhood. If you live in a section that has known lynching, you will probably want to consult with one of the national groups listed in the Appendix, for special advice on how to proceed.

When it comes to police brutality, "partial" judges and "rigged" juries, make a thorough inquiry. Your facts will come from people who have suffered through these injustices, from friendly policemen and employ-

ees of the courts; from jurymen (talking strictly "off the record," of course) and from your own observations. And don't forget that newspapermen and women assigned to police headquarters and the courts are usually well-informed.

If you believe, after this check-up, that you have a real case, then go to work without delay. Where feasible, file a complaint or protest with the mayor and/or the head of the police department. Try to see the offending judge to put the story directly to him. If you don't get results with these initial steps, then cut loose with publicity. Bring your story to the public with every means at your disposal. (See Pages 47 through 57.) Make this a crusade. Keep working at it until you have effected a change for the better. And then keep your eyes open to see that nobody slides back to the old ways.

Presenting Your Case . . .

Among the reasons you will want to advance for equal justice are these:

(1) When justice is capriciously dispensed in any community, there is no telling where it may boomerang. Today the Negroes are denied their constitutional rights—tomorrow it may be the Catholics, or Swedish-Americans, or any group which may become unpopular for one reason or another.

(2) Our entire system of law is founded on the assumption that police and judges should be above reproach. Whenever they slip, leaving themselves open to coercion and corruption by individuals and groups, respect for "law and order" is weakened.

(3) The reputable citizens of the community never sanction police brutality and

unfairness in the courts—it's the semi-respectable, the malecontents, the most unsavory elements who incite mob violence and condone favoritism in the administration of justice. Where such practices prevail, it is a signal for decent citizens to bestir themselves—if for no better reason than to defend their own interests.

When it comes to state-wide moves, you can best do two things: Get the support of the governor and state dignitaries for your efforts. And, if there is a state law to back you up,

invoke it! If there is no state law, get to work for a good strong one. (See the section on legislation, Page 42.)

On the national front, the Civil Rights Report makes several good suggestions. The enactment of a federal statute directed against police brutality and related crimes, and the enactment of an anti-lynch act by Congress, are the two that will interest you most. Urge your Congressmen to vote for such legislation. Then back them up with all the public support you can muster.





Scene at Sydenham Hospital, New York

HEALTH SERVICES

What's the Situation?

When we come to explore such vital services as hospitals, clinics, well-baby centers and nurses' training schools, we find that discrimination draws the line between good and bad health for many Americans.

Here's what the Civil Rights Report has to say on this subject: "Increased attention is being given . . . to the health needs of our people. Minority groups are sharing in the improvements . . . But there is serious discrimination in the availability of medical care, and many segments of our population do not measure up to the standards of health which have been attained by our people as a whole."

The pattern of poor health found among such so-called "minority" groups as Negroes, Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans is the

result of many factors. Most of these folk are too poor to get adequate medical care and buy proper food. Discrimination in education keeps them from acquiring basic knowledge about ways of staying healthy.

Most important of all, according to the Civil Rights Report, is the fact that hospitals and other facilities are just not open to many Americans. For example, of 1,500,000 hospital beds in the United States, only about 15,000 can be used by Negro patients. Some doctors will not treat colored patients, and the number of colored doctors and nurses available doesn't come anywhere near filling the need for them. (The ratio of Negro physicians to the total Negro population is 1 to 3377, while the ratio of all physicians to the entire population is 1 to 750.) Discrimination in medical schools is at the root of this problem. Also some medical

societies and many hospitals will not admit "minority" doctors and nurses to membership and practice.

Getting Your Facts . . .

Once more, you will want to gather all the facts you can at the outset. In its analyses of communities, the National Urban League covers the health and hospitals question most thoroughly—though solely with reference to racial discrimination. You may want to check with the Urban League (see Appendix) to decide how many and what kind of facts to set down.

You will certainly want to know about the policies and personalities in the public (state and city) health agencies in your community. These would include the school health program; the out-patient clinics both inside and independent of the hospitals; the sanitation department; and the health department's division on control of communicable diseases, the program of public health education, the public health nursing service and the laboratory service.

In each case, you will want to get answers to two main questions: First, can everybody in town get the same service from all these agencies? And second, can anybody in town, with the proper qualifications, no matter what his color or creed, get jobs with these agencies? If the answer is "No" in either case, you will want to probe further.

Then there are the private or non-official health agencies—such as the tuberculosis association, the nursing and maternal health services, the local social hygiene committee (if any) and, above all, the private hospitals. Interview as many of the users and would-be users of these services as you can. Then try to inquire among men and women working in these agencies who can provide reliable information.

Questions and Answers . . .

Now you will proceed as you did in other civil rights areas. You will see and attempt to persuade the key people. Among the points you will make are these:

(1) Ill health anywhere in town is a menace to the rest of the community. Germs and epidemics are no respecters of persons.

(2) To keep healthy, people must have access to the "tools" of health—hospitals, clinics, sanitation services, physicians and nurses.

(3) As a community, we are only robbing ourselves if we turn away people with real ability who would make fine doctors and nurses.

(4) And finally, working together for mutual betterment—particularly in the crucial and humane task of overcoming disease—helps eliminate ignorance and prejudice all along the line.

These (you will say) are a few of the reasons why we ought to start right here and now to get rid of discrimination.

Can this be done? The answer is that it has to be done, and is being done more and more, in various parts of the country. The going has been slow at times—but you can help speed it up.

It Can Be Done . . .

In Washington, D. C., the first big break in the Jim Crow policy that unfortunately prevails in our nation's capital came recently at Gallinger Hospital. Federal Security Administrator Oscar R. Ewing announced that the hospital would at last be opened to Negro doctors. Here, in one of the biggest general hospitals in the area, Negro doctors had formerly been barred from visiting their patients in the wards—although 70 percent of the ward beds are generally used by Negroes.

Negro resident doctors and internes will also work at Gallinger, thus enabling the Medical School of nearby Howard University to double its registration. At the same time, it was announced that Negro internes and residents will be able to work at St. Elizabeth's Government Hospital for the Mentally Ill. This too is a big step forward.

The Washington Hospital is one of some fifteen non-Negro hospitals (out of a total of more than 6,000) in the country to admit Negro doctors. Two of the fifteen are in Gary, Indiana, where, you will remember, civil rights are going strong. After a quiet campaign by interested groups, the Mercy and Methodist hospitals in Gary announced a non-segregation policy in the fall of 1947. Each now has two Negro doctors on the staff. Others will be accepted as they apply, if they meet the necessary standards.

Which underlines an important thought: Often a "quiet" campaign, carried on in person-to-person fashion, with no fanfare, is more effective than raising a hue and cry. And remember that most professional people, such as doctors and hospital administrators, usually shun publicity and may respond if "quiet" tactics are tried first.

In New York City, Sydenham Hospital provides an outstanding example of an interracial institution at work. It has always been a "community" hospital with a large load, attempting to serve nearly half a million white and Negro citizens in New York's Harlem district. Today, with a non-segregation policy firmly established since 1943 among patients, doctors and nurses alike, Sydenham is planning an ambitious program of expansion. This will probably be the nation's finest demonstration that "Equality Pays." (See Appendix for Sydenham Hospital material.)



TRAVEL AND RECREATION

What's Going On?

So we come to the last of the fields we will cover—sometimes known as the area of “public accommodation,” or simply as “social discrimination”—perhaps the most insidious, the most demoralizing of all the denials of civil rights we know in this country.

“Social discrimination” covers a vast expanse. It may be met with in hotels, resorts, swimming pools, parks, restaurants, skating rinks, bowling alleys, dance halls, moving picture theaters. In the South, it is almost always encountered in trolleys and trains where “Jim Crow” rules are in force.

Here is how the Civil Rights Report sums up the situation: “Most Americans patronize restaurants, theaters, shops and other places offering service to the public according to their individual preferences and their ability to pay. They take their right to enter such places and to be served for granted. This is not the case for other Americans. Because of their race or their color or their creed, they are barred from access to some places and given unequal service in others. In many sections of this country, some people must pause and give thought before they enter places serving the public . . .”

When privately operated facilities are in public places, such as parks, playgrounds, beaches and the like, it is practiced on tax-supported property. And everybody pays taxes to advance the well-being of all.

When privately-operated facilities are open to the public they, too, should rightly be available to all would-be customers. But the federal government leaves these matters to the discretion of the states—and only eighteen states have legislation barring discrimination in places of public accommodation.

“Double Talk” Again . . .

Even where there are laws against discrimination, people find ways of evading them. At hotels and resorts, guests who are unwelcome because of their race or religion are told that there is “no more room,” while others arriving at the same time are promptly accommodated. People with dark skins are kept waiting interminably for tables in restaurants, or receive the worst possible service, while others have smooth sailing from the moment they enter the doors. Tricky rules bar so-called “undesirables” from athletic contests and sporting events. Some theatres rarely have good seats left for Negroes.

To visitors from abroad, as well as to sensitive and right-thinking Americans, such practices make a mockery of democracy. For the white race—and this we too often forget—is only about one-fourth of the earth’s population. All the myriad colored races are intensely interested in where we stand on equality—and they don’t like what they hear and see. Visitors to our shores from such places as India and Iraq are quite understandably affronted when, as often happens, they are barred from hotels, restaurants and other public places because of the color of their skin. Delegates to the United Nations, and their families and staffs, do not take such experiences lightly. The reports they carry home to their fellow-countrymen do not, we may be sure, reflect a pleasing picture of our “American way.”

Since social discrimination “hits people in the eye” more than any other denial of civil rights, more and more intelligent Americans have been concerned with it in recent times. Groups in all parts of the country have been doing something about it—but there’s still much to be done.



Teen-agers enjoying their sodas in Montclair, N. J.

How Far Does It Go?

At the very outset of your work in this field, try to find out "how far it goes"—the "it" being discrimination, of course. In some places, there is a complete ban on racial or religious grounds. In others there is a "quota" (shades of the college "quota" system).

In addition to the *places* of public accommodation that practice discrimination you will want to list the *organizations* which aid and abet them. These include transit companies, travel agencies, ticket offices, newspapers that carry restrictive hotel ads, and the like.

Once more, you will want first to collect the facts. Talk to individuals who have experienced discrimination and get all the details as to time, place, persons involved, circumstances, etc. Check on advertisements, folders, pamphlets and other printed matter. Visit places that are doubtful and see for yourself what the situation is.

Gather information on the ownership of the particular business, the management, the clientele and any other data which may be

useful to you when you argue for a change in policy. Find out what the law is in your town and your state regarding this kind of discrimination. Plan to enlist the support of such groups as the Better Business Bureau, which may be helpful in this special area.

The first step in direct action will usually be to visit the offending person or persons. You will want to tell him what you know about the discriminatory policy in his business, and urge him to change that policy.

Presenting Your Case . . .

So you come to the personal interview, which is after all the best approach in most of these civil rights matters. Americans are used to the person-to-person method of ironing things out.

First, you will try tactfully to get your man to give you his side of the story. Then you will present your views against it.

Here are some of the things you will want to say:

(1) Social discrimination is a matter of public as well as private concern because it violates the American principle that all men are equally entitled to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and sets up barriers of race against race and creed against creed that disrupt community life.

(2) Social discrimination is rarely a self-contained evil; the spirit of snobbery and callousness inevitably seeps into other vital areas, such as employment and education, with resulting injury to civil rights.

(3) "Quotas" are as offensive as full-scale discrimination, denying individuals the right to be judged according to their own unique qualities and consigning them instead, sight unseen, to racial or religious pigeon-holes.

(4) If the type of discrimination you are discussing is barred by existing civil rights

laws, you will point out that fact and urge your man to remember that he is breaking the law and can be held responsible.

Youth Leads Again . . .

Recently, in New York City, students at Manhattan College took up the cudgels against another kind of social discrimination—in the realm of sports. The National Association of Intercollegiate Basketball issued an invitation for Manhattan, among other selected colleges, to take part in a tournament. The invitation contained a clause excluding Negro players. There were no Negro players on the Manhattan basketball squad, but as a matter of principle, this team declined to take part. Its decision was made public, with full details on the reason why. Then Siena College of Albany was asked to fill in the vacancy—but also refused. At the same time, a member of the Olympic Basketball Committee pointed out that the discrimination clause might disqualify the tournament winner from the Olympic elimination game. All this weight of facts and influence produced results: The offending clause came out, and Manhattan went into the tournament.

In Somerville, N. J., a group of eight high school students went to work canvassing soda fountains and candy stores on their attitudes toward serving Negroes. At the very beginning, they got a promise from a favorite teenage eating spot that everyone would be served regardless of color. After these initial steps, they held a mass meeting in the high school and signed up nearly 350 young people and adults as participants in the Somerset County Plan which aims among other things to fight discrimination on every front.

So, sometimes, youth may lead the way and the adults follow. But regardless of which group takes the initial step, everybody can

join wholeheartedly in fighting this kind of discrimination. To lick it is to take a great stride forward for civil rights for all.

Clinching Your Point . . .

That is the spirit you want to "spark" in your listener as you tell your story. Then you will ask him to do his part. If, for example, he is a travel bureau man, you will ask him to stop acting as a channel for discrimination—to stop sending out offensive literature or placing advertisements that show prejudice. You will urge him to send word to his clientele of his change in policy, and his reasons.

If your approach bears fruit, ask to talk with all the people in the organization who will be charged with carrying out the new policy. Tell them how important this new move is, and how great their contribution will be to equality and understanding in our country. In other words, do another "pep talk" that will fire your hearers with enthusiasm.

Don't forget to check up from time to time in places that have changed their ways. See if they are really carrying out their promises. If not, you may have to start your work all over again. But don't relax your vigilance—or your determination to see the cause of civil rights triumph in your town.

Jackie Robinson, Dodger Star . . .



GETTING BEHIND LEGISLATION

"There Ought to be a Law..."

Even among people with a good deal of experience in the civil rights field, there are differences of opinion about the usefulness of laws against discrimination.

Some say you just can't legislate understanding, or change people's attitudes except through long-range, intensive education. Others believe that laws *can* shape new habits of thought and behavior if public opinion is lined up. But all agree that any rules set down on the statute books must be backed all the way by honest law-enforcement agencies.

Whether laws provide *the* solution or not, you are bound to need them sooner or later as you work for civil rights. You will have to decide for yourself how "all-out" you want to go—in endorsing measures already proposed; or, if you are ready, in proposing legislation yourself. The Civil Rights Report devotes a good deal of space to this question. It lists many specific recommendations—areas ripe for legislative action,

The late James L. McConaughy, former Governor of Connecticut, signs the Connecticut State Law Against Discrimination in Employment.



mostly by the states. Take a look at these suggestions once more, when you're ready to begin. For making laws is a weighty business. You'll want to size up the field pretty carefully before you start plowing ahead.

Know What Others Have Done . . .

It's always inspiring to let your allies know they are part of a movement that's spreading throughout the country. This is especially true of civil rights legislation. Several states and cities have enacted strong laws in recent years.

Since the turn of the century, New York has been one of the nation's leaders in civil rights legislation. This is due in no small measure to alert groups of citizens—educational, religious, labor, business, civic, social and professional associations—which have actively campaigned and worked for such laws.

At this very moment, groups like yours in all parts of the country are studying New York's experience with a view to duplicating it in their own communities. Here are the high spots:

In 1909, the state enacted a Civil Rights law which has been extended by numerous amendments to ban discrimination in jury service, in admission to public schools, in insurance benefits, in public employment, places of amusement and other areas.

More recently, before Pearl Harbor, a state Committee on Discrimination in Employment was operating as part of the New York State Council of Defense, later known as the State War Council. In its work against employment discrimination in war industries, the Committee settled more than 95 percent of the thousand-odd cases it dealt with.

In 1944, the New York State Temporary Commission Against Discrimination was set up to study the field and recommend legislation. Fifteen of the twenty-three members of the Commission were representatives of the public and interested groups. In this way, everybody concerned with civil rights could have a voice in the outcome. The legislative proposals they made toward the end of 1944 were sent out to organizations in all parts of the state. Then public hearings were held in five key cities—and nearly 140 group leaders spoke up and presented their views.

As the Temporary Commission stated in its 1945 report: "Although discrimination is a most controversial and emotional subject and doubts had been expressed in advance as to the wisdom of such itinerant public hearings, the result of this unprecedented course was to confirm faith in the democratic process. . . . The hearings partook of the nature of dignified and deliberative town-meetings, with a considerate attention to all points of view, and with mutual desire to make constructive contributions."

"In consequence . . . it can be truly said that *the people of the State of New York themselves participated in writing the legislation. . . .*"

The final report was filed late in January, 1945. In February, with a bill before the legislature, open hearings were held again. More than 500 individuals, including 230 representatives of organizations, aired their opinions before the bill was finally passed. The new law became effective on July 1, 1945, establishing a State Commission Against Discrimination.

After the law had been in operation for two years, Henry C. Turner, chairman of the new Commission, wrote an account for the *New York Times* (see Appendix). Here, in part, is his conclusion:

" . . . Equality of economic opportunity is a wide portal of approach. Through this portal men may pass to normal and natural relationships and gain the means of cultural improvement. The law against discrimination has already justified itself as a key by which this portal may be opened."

The New York story is a heartening and helpful one. For further information about it—and about legislation elsewhere—you might consult the Appendix.

Help, Help!

If ever you needed the help of experts, you will need it now. You will want to round up all the lawyers in your group, and any willing ones outside it, to consult and plan with you. They will be the map-makers of your campaign.

Your lawyer friends may be able to tell you whether there are any statutes already on the books that apply to the field you're interested in. For instance, do you want your town to forbid discrimination in public places, such as restaurants, hotels and the like? Maybe such a regulation was passed years ago and only needs someone to shake off the dust and

Commissioners of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination



bring it back to life. If there's any doubt about the existence of a law, write to the clerk of your town—or of your state legislature, if it's not a local matter—and find out.

If the lawyers can't tell you just how effective some long-standing measure has been, then you'll have to do a little digging yourself. Consult newspaper files, reports of state agencies or city departments, and studies made by civic, welfare or religious groups, if any are available. Talk to people working in the field, and to municipal and state officials—to anyone you think may have an "inside slant" on the workings of that particular law.

Now, suppose you find a law that's obsolete or otherwise unworkable; or suppose you discover that no legislation of the sort you have in mind has been adopted in the past. This may bring you to the point of drawing up a bill of your own.

Here, of course, you will lean most heavily on the lawyers who are helping you. Once you've decided what the law is to accomplish, they will frame it for you, with all the phrases and clauses in the right places. Give them your ideas—and the ideas garnered in your talks with members of your group, your friends and others—so that they will make their draft as universally acceptable as possible. You want a bill that will pass, so see that it suits the greatest number of people without sacrificing any of the essential principles.

Know the Ropes!

While your law is being put down on paper, get to know the political ropes in your city and state. Which government department will be charged with carrying out your new law? How good are the prospects for such a bill in the state legislature? If it seems doubtful that you'll get enough support, does your proposal fall within the province of your town's legal authority, and can you get your



law passed there as a start? These are some of the primary questions to ask yourself.

One way to find the answers is to study the structure of your local government. When it comes to tactical questions, the lawyers you consult may give you valuable tips. The reporters of your newspaper who cover City Hall or the State Building may also be helpful here—and so will friendly legislators—as many as you can button-hole!

Of course, you may shortly discover that the very law you have in mind is already in the hopper. Someone else has proposed it. Well, that saves you a great deal of trouble; and, if it's a satisfactory bill, you'll want to give it just as much support as if it were a brainchild of your own. The essentials of action will be pretty much the same in either case.

Here's an idea you may want to ponder, before you go any further: A lawyer well versed in the making of laws was asked how a group like yours would go about the business of sponsoring and supporting civil rights legislation. He replied: "The first thing they ought to do is to find out who are the leaders of the party in power. If their backing is won, it will be a great forward move for the cause."

Pointers for Political Action . . .

As you move into action, you'll want to keep in mind at least five important pointers. (Many others are contained in two practical guidebooks, "Let's Look at Legislation," issued by the Junior Leagues of America, and "Primer on Political Action," published by the Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church. (See Appendix.)

(1) *Plan to lobby*—in a thoughtful and dignified fashion, of course, but with the definite objective of bringing pressure to bear for the enactment of *your* law.

But be sure you know your state lobbying laws. Get them from the clerk of the legislature. Then find out from one of your lawyer friends how these laws have been applied and interpreted. (In Texas, for example, the law prevents "corporations" from engaging in political activities "with reference to any political questions to be voted on by the qualified voters of Texas." Texas folk will want to know how far they can go in sponsoring legislation under this law—and so will the rest of you who may discover similar laws on the statute books of your states.)

(2) *Don't spread your objectives all over the map.* Hold your law to a few vital points. Stick to it until you begin to see results.

(3) *Draw in prominent leaders*—as many as you can enlist—to sponsor your bill. "In union there is strength" was never truer than in pushing legislation.

(4) *Know what is happening to your bill* after it is introduced. If there is a public hearing, see that you have spokesmen present with short but emphatic statements of support. Keep after your legislators to move the bill along—and, of course, to vote favorably on it. Watch committee hearings: attend them and speak up whenever you can. If changes are suggested, try to reach a workable compro-

mise, for half a loaf is often better than none.

Suppose your bill is defeated the first time it is introduced. First of all, find out why. Then correct your mistakes and try again! Meanwhile, keep the issue before the public—and keep your group active.

(5) *Finally, follow through.* When your bill is approved, signed and sealed, your job is still not over. You must be on the alert to insist on forceful administration of the law, and ready to protect it from any future assault by those who opposed it at the outset.

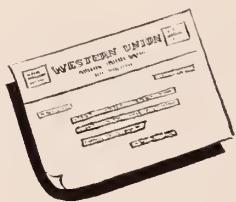
Get Your Public to Speak . . .

In this effort, as in all others, you will need the public behind you. Therefore, you will want to get your story into the newspapers, on the radio, into the schools, the churches, the libraries—everywhere you can find readers and listeners. Dramatize the issue! Urge people to express their support through letters, wires and telephone calls to their legislators. Don't miss a trick that will prove the voters are with you on the immediate need for this legislation. And make your barrage of public approval just as heavy as you can when your bill reaches a vote. (See Pages 47 through 57 for detailed suggestions.)

In political work, it's important not to overlook personal visits to your legislators. Keep these occasions as short and sweet as possible—but put yourself firmly on the record. When legislators visit your town, be sure someone gets to them with your viewpoint. Petitions often help too, especially if you can get well-known people to sign them.

You can urge people to write, but will they? Well, some groups make sure by supplying letter paper and postage to all the people at every meeting. After discussion, there is "time out" for each member to write a letter to her legislator. Then the chairman sees that the letters are mailed.

Another novel way to express public sentiment was used by a branch of the United Automobile Workers in California. A facsimile of a Western Union telegram, six by eight feet, was set up in front of the union office near the factory. Workers coming out of the gate heard a loudspeaker blaring an appeal for them to sign up in support of certain legislation. A pencil on a long string was attached to the telegram, so everyone could sign his name. And they certainly did! (Later, of course, an ordinary wire bearing all the names went to the right legislators.)



Check-up . . .

After your bill is passed, another job begins—the task of checking up on the administration of the law. There are places in this country where even the police and the judiciary have been known to “close an eye” when it suited their purposes to do so. So you will want to keep your own eyes and ears open, speaking up whenever you think a civil rights law is being ignored.

How will you go about this? In several ways. First, of course, you will find out all you can about the department or bureau in charge of applying the law. Who are the people directly involved and what is the scope of their authority? Then, you will find out what funds are being appropriated by the city or state government for administration of the law. If you feel, after looking at the budget and talking it over with others, that the appropriation is not large enough—do some-

thing about it. Attend budget hearings of the city council or the state legislature, and speak up. Write to your legislators. Use all the pressures you can muster. No law can be properly administered without enough people—enough money—to do a thorough job.

Get the press and the radio news folk interested in how the law is being used. A good newspaper has been called “the watchdog of the public interest”—but sometimes even a good newspaper has to be prodded a bit. See that the publishers, editors and radio executives in the community are interested, and urge them to assign enough reporters to do a real job of checking up. Sometimes, just the knowledge that the press is on the alert keeps a burean on its toes—for no public agency enjoys the stark glare of adverse publicity.

Keep an eye open for the periodic reports of the department that administers the law. Study them carefully. If you find loopholes, try to bring them to the attention, first, of the mayor or the governor or other responsible officials—and if you are not satisfied with their response, to the attention of the press. Reports, statements, requests for budget appropriations, almost anything that is put down on paper will give you clues to what is going on in the administration of a law.

Then, of course, try to talk with the people who are directly involved—the head of the department, burean or commission, and his assistants—and assure them of your interest. Offer whatever help and backing you have available. An honest, able administrator will welcome the support of the forward-looking elements in the community; he will be open and above-board with them. Together, you and he can be a real force for good—you in encouraging him to carry out the law to the letter, and in spreading the word when he does; he in performing his duties to the best of his ability.

REACHING OUT TO THE PUBLIC

Who's the Public?

The first thing to remember, in planning how to reach the public, is that you are not dealing with some remote, inanimate object. "The public" is an approachable group of people, numerous to be sure, but similar in most respects to you and your friends; people whose emotions can be stirred, whose minds can be aroused, whose energies can be moved to action. Public opinion, if won to your cause, becomes the dynamo of reform.

There are a good many ways to win support for a cause—and each might be described in intricate detail. We shall attempt here only to give you the highlights. Get additional help from such experts in your neighborhood as newspapermen, folks working in radio, advertising, and commercial or philanthropic publicity. And check with the material listed in the Appendix.

The Press . . .

All of us read the papers—not because we have to, but because we want to. Everybody likes to know what's happening to "the other fellow." When a story appears in print, the facts carry weight with most people; they seem to feel it would not have been published



if it didn't have merit. So you will want to think and plan in terms of reaching your local newspapers as often as you can with good, live copy that will help your cause.

No doubt you are already familiar with the basic rules of reporting. You know every editor likes to have the who, what, when, where and why set forth briefly at the outset. You should always type your copy, double spaced on one side of the page, with the release date at the top. Be sure to give the release to all the papers in town at once, at least a day in advance. If you want to be sure that the form of your story is "according to Hoyle," you may wish to consult with such guides as "Working With Newspapers," published by the National Publicity Council (see Appendix). It's important that copy follow established patterns—otherwise it's likely to land in the editor's waste-paper basket.

As you begin your campaign, visit the local editors and tell them of your plans—ask their advice, if they have time to give it. Establish yourself from the very outset as a reliable source of information, so your editors won't have to stop and check facts with you at the last minute. But don't count on taking every press release to your editors personally. They are much too busy for that.

Once they know you and what you stand for, you can count on them to take and use whatever they regard as newsworthy material—depending always, of course, on the day's space requirements. If there is a four-alarm fire in town, or a murder, or a big strike, you may be squeezed out. All you can do is try again next time. And don't give up hope.

Ways and Means . . .

Here are ten "tips" to remember in working with newspapers:

(1) *Appoint one person* who will be responsible for handling the press. Give him or her as many helpers as possible, but *don't divide authority*. "Too many cooks" will spoil this broth in a hurry.

(2) *Analyze your newspapers.* Learn the difference between a straight news account and a feature story built around a "human interest angle"—a personality, a "hot" issue. Find out all about the regular departments of the paper—such as the letters-to-the-editor column, the woman's page, the business page, the sports section, and so on. Then you'll be able to slant your material in many different directions.

(3) *Don't forget good photos and cartoons.* Sometimes they are more warmly received—and carry a greater punch—than a full length story.

(4) *Make much of "occasions."* A forum or a town meeting can be good for several releases—before the event, on the big day, and again as a follow-up story. If you have one or two prominent speakers, so much the better. "Big names" often boost a story, although they won't always carry it by themselves.

(5) *Keep on the look-out for events you can tie in with.* If, for instance, there's a public hearing of the town council on a housing proj-

ect, see that your representatives are there to speak up—and make sure the press knows about it.

(6) *Keep an up-to-the-minute file of "personal history"* data on the prominent workers in your ranks. Sometimes you can do a real service to editors with information of this kind—and so make them all the more eager to do something for you.

(7) *Don't be stuffy!* Make your stories newsworthy. Build them around events that the papers will *want* to write up; for example, the awarding of a prize or trophy to a person or group who has done a noteworthy job in the civil rights field. This would produce news stories and pictures; it might inspire editorial comment and letters to the editor, and should also hit special pages—society, business, churches or schools—depending on the personalities among the winners.

(8) *Win friends.* Try to get one or more of the key staff men on each newspaper excited about what you are doing. Then *he'll* urge the editor to feature your stories.

(9) *Take stock.* Every so often, go over your clippings and releases. See if you can figure out why this or that story has fizzled, or burst into headlines, as the case may be. Then plan your next approach accordingly.

(10) *Get advice.* Ask other groups in town how they work with newspapers and what they did that brought best results. You can pick up quite a few good tips this way—and perhaps pass on a few, too. There's no end to the ingenious ideas that have made lively news and carried worthwhile information to the public at the same time.

For example, in Scarsdale, N.Y., the local paper ran a "town meeting in print" all one summer for the League of Women Voters. The League lined up prominent citizens who discussed American foreign policy in a punchy

column—which shed light on vital issues, kept the League in the public eye and also provided the paper with a popular item.

In Schenectady, N.Y., one of the newspapers printed each week the statement of the main speaker on a radio program, "The People's Peace," sponsored by the Citizens' Unity Committee and the Y.M.C.A. So if anyone missed the broadcast, he could always catch up with it in the paper—and the groups involved got a double "break."

Many editors in various parts of the country responded to the call of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, urging Americans to help form plans for an enduring peace. One newspaper printed a four-week symposium. Another ran guest editorials. A third invited letters to the editor. (This could be done by other groups on a state-wide rather than a national basis.)

Radio . . .

The microphone, more than any other instrument yet devised, brings you right into other people's homes, at times when they're relaxed and ready to listen. Voices on the air establish a personal bond with your public, giving you a chance to make many potent appeals to the mind and heart.

But don't forget that there are pitfalls here as in any other undertaking. As a rule, radio gives you *one* chance, and one only. If your program sags at any point, the listener is likely to turn the dial. Other broadcasts at the same time compete with yours. If your message isn't alluring and geared "to the ear," your audience can all too easily tune it out.

Most radio stations are definitely interested in non-commercial programs. The Federal Communications Commission, which licenses all the radio stations in the country, looks with favor on stations which emphasize the public service type of program. The pro-



gram director of your radio station may give you a "one-shot" offer, or he may dazzle you with a windfall—a series of several broadcasts. Most stations prefer "live" shows, but some will take recordings—especially if they're good dramatic ones. Stations are often limited in the allocation of time at certain popular hours. If you want to reach the men-folk when they're resting in their easy-chairs after dinner, for instance, you may find it hard to get an evening spot—but a program with wide appeal may make the grade.

In addition to getting a program of your own on the air, there are many other ways to use the radio. News commentators will talk your story up, if there's something interesting to tell—so make friends with them and feed them good material. Forum speakers are always glad to have solid facts and figures, and generally give credit to the groups that help

them. Women commentators and interviewers are always on the lookout for human-interest stories and new guest speakers. In other words, the radio has distinct "departments," just like the newspapers. Find out what those departments are, who is in charge of each one, and then see where your material best fits in.

Six Ways to Air Your Story...

There are certain standard procedures and program formats that you will want to know about; full details are available in "Radio—How, When and Why to Use It," which is listed in the Appendix. As a general rule, you will want to keep in mind the six most familiar types of broadcasts:

(1) *Talk by an individual person.* To get your audience to tune in on this, you'll want to have a "top man"—someone with a name, or a reputation, or a personality that will attract listeners. His speech should be concise, to the point and delivered in a friendly, pleasant manner. If possible, he should rehearse his talk ahead of time, so no slips occur.

(2) *Interview between two or more persons.* This must be lively and quick-moving—bringing out points that will impress the audience and keep it hanging on for the next question. An interview is not devised solely to bring out facts; it should be a sounding board for personal experience and opinion as well. And again, the participants should be appealing—people in the news, or those whose position and background entitle them to talk with authority.

(3) *A dramatization or "show."* This is an ambitious enterprise and usually requires the services of experienced professionals. If you have one or more talented directors, a few good actors and musicians—and, above all, a

fine script—you may find this the most effective type of program. Be sure, however, that the story you want to tell lends itself to a dramatic presentation. For no matter how exciting or enchanting a radio play may be, it isn't worth the paper it's written on if your message doesn't get across.

(4) *Transcribed program or recording.* Local stations are a wide open field for the use of transcriptions. These are records which come in two sizes—twelve inches (seventy-eight revolutions per minute) mainly for home use, and sixteen inches, (33-1/3 revolutions per minute). The latter is required size for radio stations. Transcriptions generally offer superior talent and are planned, timed and produced in a professional manner. As a rule, there is time left within the 15- or 30-minute period for you to add a "live" announcement carrying your message. Check with your local stations to find out if they will use this kind of material—and then look in the Appendix for suggested recordings and the places to get them.

(5) *Special event.* This is an on-the-spot broadcast, emanating from a meeting, a rally, a dedication, a parade, or any of a variety of community activities that you may be planning. Be sure you have your speeches written out in advance and carefully geared to your radio time. And see that all the technical details, such as the location and hook-up of the microphone, are taken care of well in advance.

(6) *Spot announcements.* These are short announcements, sandwiched in between regular programs. If cleverly written and delivered, they can be most effective. Listen to some on your own radio—such as the Red Cross appeals, or those for Boy Scout Week, Fire Prevention campaigns, and so on. Then put your wits to work and ask your station for time.

Whether you use one or all of these approaches in the course of your campaign, don't

forget to keep building up your radio audience. Send announcements of your programs to everyone who is—or might be—interested. See that the local papers carry announcements. Find human interest angles on the personalities in your program and write them up. Be sure the title of your broadcast is catchy or provocative. If you have a series of broadcasts, line up your next week's audience during this week's show with a good "come-on" announcement.

Pave the way for more radio time by asking the listening audience to write in—by getting friends and co-workers to write in—by urging every one you know to phone the station to give their reactions the moment the program is over. Organize listening groups to hear your programs together, and talk them over. You may recruit a good many new workers that way.

And, finally, bring in other groups in town as co-sponsors—the well-established organizations that represent the leadership of your community.

In Yakima, Wash., for instance, a forum was initially sponsored by the Y.M.C.A.—but much of its success was due to the cooperation of the local Council of Churches, the Central Labor Union and several service clubs.

Public Meetings . . .

In addition to your town meeting to present the civil rights problem, you will probably want to plan a variety of gatherings in the course of your campaign. Here are a few ideas to consider:

(1) *Suit the topic to the group.* Whether your meeting takes the form of a one-speaker affair, a debate, a forum session, a panel discussion, a round-table, a town meeting, or whatever, be sure you have a *timely* theme that will interest the audience. And if you want

to reach a specialized group—say, the medical men in town, or the school teachers—tie in your theme with *their* special interests.

(2) *Put one person in charge.* Give him full authority. Also, give him as many able lieutenants as you can. Successful meetings require careful planning, so you'll want a top-notch group of planners.

(3) *Don't overdo it.* In other words, don't overload your program with so many speakers that the audience gets tired, or with so many facts that people will become confused. And don't let it get too long—two hours or so is as much as most people can take. Set up a definite time schedule, and stick to it.

(4) *Choose your time and place carefully.* Be sure your meeting won't conflict with any other important event in town. The time chosen should suit your audience—afternoons are generally good for women, evenings for both men and women. Your meeting place ought to be a pleasant one, easily reached and big enough to seat everyone without overcrowding or empty spots.

(5) *End the meeting on the right note.* If you want action—and you certainly will, in most cases—see that the audience is primed for it. The last speaker generally "sounds the call," so be sure he is briefed on just what he's to say.

(6) *Choose your speakers wisely.* Nobody should be invited to address your meeting unless he is a good speaker. No matter how well-informed or popular a man may be, he will never hold an audience if he's dull, long-winded or inaudible.

If you are recruiting speakers outside your town, you'll find that many organizations, like labor unions, chambers of commerce, medical societies, colleges and universities can suggest speakers on request. Professional lec-

ture bureaus also have good lists, but of course they will charge a fee.

Be a good host to these visiting luminaries—meet them and take them to their trains, make overnight arrangements if necessary, give them advance material about others on the platform and the points you want covered, make them as comfortable as possible. If you plan to broadcast their talks, ask permission in advance. Also, clear with them about photographs to be taken during the meeting. And, of course, get them as much publicity as you can, both in advance and after the meeting. (For further details on this and other matters relating to public meetings, see "Planning Your Meeting," listed in the Appendix.)

You may want to develop a speakers' bureau of your own. Organize a card file of men and women available in your area for speaking engagements on various subjects. Ask

your members to go to public meetings, listen to the speakers, and suggest good ones for your work. Ask for volunteers in your own ranks who will agree to train themselves, or be trained, to speak up for civil rights.

For example, the University Religious Conference of Los Angeles organized a "Panel of Americans" made up of six college girls—Mexican, Chinese and Negro; Catholic, Jewish and Protestant. Each described her cultural background and problems. Then the discussion was opened up to the audience, and the panel members answered questions. These young students appeared at meetings of all kinds in dozens of communities and broadcast radio series. The same technique could be adapted to the civil rights field.

(7) *Get a good turn-out.* See that your invitations are appealing and that they reach the people you want at the meeting. Some of

"Panel of Americans"—six pretty girls from the University of California who toured the country



your notices may be printed and sent through the mail. Some may be posters, or ads in the newspapers, or radio announcements. Some may be issued by telephone. Don't miss a trick in this respect, because the invitation is your first contact with your prospective audience.

(8) *Plan your publicity.* Before, during and after the meeting, work closely with your newspapers. Try to get a local radio station to broadcast the principal speeches.

In other words, exploit your meeting in every way possible. You will put a great amount of time and energy into it—so make it pay.

“Printed Matter” . . .

In your campaign, the vast assortment of items known as “printed matter” is as vital as seeds to the farmer. With handouts, advertisements, pamphlets, fliers and the like you sow ideas—and ideas blossom into action for civil rights.

People like to hold something in their hands, to study things that interest them, to “think it over.” Give them all you can, within the limits of your time and budget. There are two general varieties of “printed matter”: one might be called “public,” like displays, posters and ads; the other “private,” like pamphlets and leaflets. First let's take up the “public” variety:

(1) *Displays.* A great help—if they're good. If displays are Greek to you, ask your librarian if she has any books on the subject. Or talk with department store people, art teachers and others in town who should know. Start with a central theme, and build around it. Know where you are going to set up your display (as in a library, a railroad station, a store, a school) and make plans on the basis of the space available. Keep your set-up simple and to the point.

(2) *Advertisements.* “It pays to advertise”—that's an axiom of the business world. If you can get a sponsor to pay the bill, or line up free space, by all means plan some ads. Get friends in the advertising field to help you prepare the copy and illustrations, and go to it.

Now for a word to the wise on *where* you will put your “public” printed matter: The answer is *everywhere*. Wherever people gather—in the grocery store, railroad station, bank, library, school, town hall and church; in public meeting rooms, union halls, clubs and hotels. Depending on your message and the results you want to come from it, choose your display spots where they will do the most good.

As for “private” printed matter, consider:

(1) *The handout, broadside or throw-away.* These are one-page items, or small folders that try to tell as much as possible in the fewest words. In a way, these are simply expanded ads—so they should retain the best features of an advertisement. See what other groups have done before you start, and get their advice.

The League of Women Voters has done a notable job with “throwaways,” in stores, restaurants, hotel lobbies, railroad stations, etc. You may want to get in touch with them for tips on how to do it.

(2) *Pamphlets and booklets.* These are designed to educate readers and stir them to action. If you have the wherewithal, both technical and financial, pamphlets are often well worth doing. But don't plunge into a lot of effort and expense until you've checked on the output of other organizations working in the same field. Maybe the job you need is already done. Many groups offer their literature at attractive prices, especially if bought in quantity. (See Appendix for suggestions.)

If and when you decide to try your hand at a pamphlet or booklet, you would do well to consult “Pamphlets that Pull,” a publication

of the National Publicity Council, described in the Appendix. Your local library will probably be able to provide additional reference material. And don't forget the men and women in your town, and in the offices of national organizations you may belong to, who have had experience in preparing and distributing popular reading matter. They should have a wealth of wisdom stored away that you can draw on.

Do's and Don'ts . . .

Meanwhile, here are a few do's and don'ts that may prove helpful:

(1) Don't undertake a project like this unless you are pretty sure the pamphlet or booklet is definitely *needed* to advance your cause.

(2) Do be sure you have a strong basic theme, geared to a specific problem or situation, rather than merely a general exhortation. You should also have a solid outline and a good plan of distribution before you begin.

(3) Don't give the job to amateurs, but find as many professional writers, illustrators and "distributors" as you can in your ranks and put them to work—as their particular contribution to the campaign.

(4) Do go over your costs carefully and well in advance, and consider whether you'll sell your booklet or pamphlet rather than give it away. Sometimes people have more respect for reading matter they pay for, even if it costs only a few cents.

(5) Don't go at it alone, if you can help it, but try to line up other groups that will be interested in this type of material and ask them to help in financing it.

(6) Do give your "opus" plenty of advertising, so that it's read widely and *acted upon*.

Program Aids . . .

In addition to the press, the radio, public meetings, and various kinds of printed matter, there are several program aids you may find useful in your work. These include films, records and dramatic skits—all of which can be part of a meeting or events in themselves.

If you can beg, borrow or rent projection equipment, try a film. There are a number of fine movies available on the subjects you're interested in. The Educational Film Library Association (see Appendix) will tell you where there is a film library in your area. If possible, try to see in advance the film you're going to use. Usually, there is a rental fee, but some groups keep this to a fairly low figure.

It's a good idea to combine the showing of your movie with a talk or discussion by the audience, led by a chairman. For this purpose, prepare a brief discussion outline. The Y.M.C.A. Motion Picture Bureau (see Appendix) has film forum guides to help you. Sometimes it's best to provide the audience with reading matter to take home, to bolster the comparatively fleeting effect of the movie.

Film strips and slides—accompanied by a voice commentary—are another fine program aid. They lend themselves nicely to discussion, either during or after the showing.

The West Branch Y.M.C.A. in Philadelphia produced a successful film forum series, which was then used by other community groups. One of the best presentations was a combination of the film, "The Negro Soldier," and discussion material, along with a speaker who was the principal of a local public school with a large Negro student body. The "Y" made a hit with such programs, even though it had to borrow motion picture equipment every time meeting night came around.

We have already discussed the use of recordings over the air—but they can also be brought to meetings. A good radio broadcast, for example, may be played over and over

again to different groups. If you want a program that "hits the spot" for your cause, and hasn't been heard in town before, you can rent one. There are several organizations that make and distribute recordings (see Appendix). Here again you will need equipment—but it's not as complicated or expensive as the set-up for a motion picture film. Some schools already have machinery for presenting recordings.

Remember, however, that this is a comparatively new idea for adult get-togethers. If your advance build-up isn't good, you won't get the best results. First, be sure your audience is ready to *listen*. Then, introduce the recording even more carefully than you would a speaker—explaining the facts you expect to have highlighted and the action you hope will follow. If you can, provide printed matter to supplement the recording and serve as a basis for discussion. This device will seldom carry a meeting by itself—so perhaps you'll want to use it as an introductory or finale feature, a touch of entertainment.

Another useful aid may be "the drama"—original or already published plays, playlets, skits and one-acters. Sometimes you may find professional actors to do the job for you—as their contribution, or at a nominal fee. Sometimes you may find talented amateurs who can be molded into a good troupe by a dramatics coach. Or you may want to try the new "spontaneous drama" that's becoming so popular in a good many places.

This technique, which is said to educate both the actors and the audience, has been used successfully by the Wellesley School of Community Affairs in Massachusetts. Here a group of grown-ups with different backgrounds, stemming from different racial and religious groups, sit down together and dig back into their childhood memories. These are taken down, and worked into a script. Then, the original "actors" rehearse and pre-

sent their own stories on the stage. The impact can be tremendous in revealing to both actors and audience the causes of discrimination and ways to end it. But you must have a director who knows how to handle such a group and how to develop such a play—and a really good script writer.

Again, dramatics of different kinds can be worked into larger meetings. They may be combined with discussion, with music, with a single speaker, with a combination of one or two of these—or in any other way that holds promise for you. If there is talent along these lines in your group, by all means make use of it, for "all the world's a stage" and everybody likes a good show.

Key Leaders . . .

The leaders of thought and action in your community—the teachers, clergymen, labor officials, business executives, for example—all deserve personal attention from you. Most of these people have organizations of their own—and should, of course, be partners in your unified campaign for civil rights. Now see if you can't sit down with them *individually* and explore the possibilities for enlightenment directly within their own ranks, and through their work.

You will want to ask school principals and teachers to plan a civil rights program in the school assembly at least once during the year. Talk over the kind of program that boys and girls would most enjoy. Ask for advice from the youngsters themselves. Enlist the cooperation of school groups and clubs, and make them part of the campaign if you can. For instance, the high school dramatic club would probably do a fine show on discrimination in education. And the head of the debating society should be a first-rate choice for a finale speaker, winding up the program.

Teachers as a group are becoming more and more concerned with the problems we've talked about in this handbook. Get them to discuss civil rights in their classes. "Making Democracy Work in Your Community," published by the Bureau for Intercultural Education for the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, will be most helpful here. The Bureau for Intercultural Education can provide a wealth of other materials. (See Appendix for both.)

All the foregoing applies equally to ministers, priests and rabbis in the community. Through these leaders you can reach their congregations as a whole *and* the various clubs and societies that are part and parcel of every religious institution today.

Try to see every religious leader in town at the very beginning of your work; if you live in a large city, contact those serving the largest number of people or working in trouble areas. Invite them to your meetings. Consult them for advice on ways to proceed.

Be sure that they receive all your literature and ask them to distribute it within their own churches and synagogues. Give them suggested sermon subjects, and any relevant background material you can supply. Get them to invite you to the meetings of the men's, women's and young people's groups, to "talk it over" and thus enlist further support for your campaign.

Business and labor groups likewise offer fertile ground. Your approach may be somewhat different here from that used among "teachers and preachers" (stressing, perhaps, the dollar-and-cents benefits of non-discrimination in employment, housing, etc.). But in practice you will do pretty much as you did with the other groups. Above all, you want to stir them up to think, talk and *act* for civil rights.

The first and most important step is, of course, the meeting—either the meeting of the

group you are approaching, or one of your own. If you are invited to one of their meetings, that's fine. If you can get these leaders to come to one of your meetings, and send them home excited and enthusiastic, that's just as good. Later, you will follow through with every means at your disposal, just as you do with all groups.

Be sure, if you can, to be introduced to the leaders of business and labor by someone who stands high in their regard. As in every other field, half your battle is won if you come on a friendly and personal basis. From that point on, you may be on your own—but at least you will be facing an hospitable listener.

Those are the high spots of your relations with the public. You will probably "fill in" with ideas and techniques of your own, hammered out of day-to-day experience. Remember that there are strong national organizations ready to help you with ways-and-means suggestions and other tools. And remember, too, that others are interested in your good work.

When you have a story of accomplishment to tell, get in touch with one of the national agencies in the civil rights field (see Appendix). Knowing of your success story is a guide and inspiration to thousands throughout the country. And recognition from "outside" is bound to encourage your own group to work even harder. So, don't be too modest!

Last Word . . .

Now you've done all you think you can possibly do—but your job isn't quite over yet. We're all human, so we're all inclined to slip back into old grooves. That is why, even after your campaign is finished, you will want to keep up with your work of education, for one thing. You will want to keep your eyes open to possibilities for wise legislation. And, of course, you will be on your toes to spot new symptoms of discrimination.

So you will keep in touch with the indi-

viduals you contacted in the course of your campaign. In a friendly way, you will assure them of your concern for the continuance of fair practices. And don't forget your representatives in Congress and in your state legislature. Let them know when you are pleased with their work. See that they get public approval and support for all they do in extending civil rights.

With equal energy you will keep on "educatin'." You'll still sponsor worthwhile events and movements. You will occasionally send

forth literature. You will keep on writing letters where they will do the most good.

And whatever you do, whether in the throes of your first intensive campaign or later, you will be as patient as you can with the indifferent, slow-moving or short-sighted ones among you. You'll help them see where they're wrong, give them time to come to their senses.

And now, with all this firmly in mind, with determination and justice on your side, good luck and Godspeed to you!



A provocative newspaper feature on civil rights.

APPENDIX

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All materials are arranged alphabetically by title.
To save space, organizations distributing materials are indicated in key letters.
Materials free unless otherwise noted.

National Organizations

The following organizations are active in the field of inter-group relations, civil liberties, etc. They will supply useful literature; will answer your S.O.S. for suggestions in conducting your campaign.

Key letters identify organizations distributing the materials listed in this Appendix.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND GROUP RELATIONS, ETC.

American Association for the United Nations, Inc.	45 East 65th Street New York 21, N. Y.
ACLU American Civil Liberties Union	170 Fifth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.
ACRR American Council on Race Relations	4901 Ellis Ave., Chicago 15, Ill.
	American Friends Service Committee 20 S. 12 St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.
AJC American Jewish Committee	386 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N. Y.
CONG American Jewish Congress (Commission on Community Interrelations)	212 W. 50 St., New York 19, N. Y.
ADL Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith	212 Fifth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.
BIE Bureau for Intercultural Education	157 W. 13 St., New York 11, N. Y.
CCAU Common Council for American Unity, Inc.	20 W. 40 St., New York 18, N. Y.
CRS Community Relations Service	386 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N. Y.
	Council Against Intolerance in America 17 E. 42 St., New York 17, N. Y.
	Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Inc. 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.
	General Federation of Women's Clubs 1734 N St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.
IDE Institute for Democratic Education	415 Lexington Ave., New York 17, N. Y.
MCHR Mayor's Commission on Human Relations	54 W. Hubbard St., Chicago 10, Ill.
MC Methodist Church	Board of Missions and Church Extension 150 Fifth Ave., New York 11, N. Y.
NAACP National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	20 W. 40 St., New York 18, N. Y.
	National Catholic Welfare Conference 1312 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington 5, D. C.
NCRAC National Community Relations Advisory Council	295 Madison Ave., New York 17, N. Y.
NCCJ National Conference of Christians and Jews	381 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N. Y.
	National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc. 1819 Broadway, New York 23, N. Y.
NISR National Institute of Social Relations, Inc.	1244 Twentieth St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

National Jewish Welfare Board
145 E. 32 St., New York 16, N. Y.
National League of Women Voters
726 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

NPC	National Publicity Council 130 E. 22 St., New York 10, N. Y.
NUL	National Urban League 1133 Broadway, New York 21, N. Y.
PA	Public Affairs Committee, Inc. 22 E. 38 St., New York 16, N. Y.
SA	Survey Associates, Inc. 112 E. 19 St., New York 3, N. Y.
SD	Superintendent of Documents Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.
SH	Sydenham Hospital Manhattan Ave. and 123 St., New York 27, N. Y.
	Young Men's Christian Association of the U.S.A. National Council 347 Madison Ave., New York 17, N. Y.
	Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A. National Board 600 Lexington Ave., New York 22, N. Y.
YD	Youth Division National Social Welfare Assembly 134 E. 56 St., New York 22, N. Y.

EDUCATION

American Council on Education
744 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.
American Federation of Teachers
28 E. Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Ill.
National Education Association
1201 16 St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

EMPLOYMENT

DAD	Division Against Discrimination State Department of Education 1060 Broad St., Newark 2, N. J.
	Fair Employment Division Connecticut State Inter-Racial Commission State Office Building, Hartford, Conn.
	Fair Employment Practice Commission 41 Tremont St., Boston, Mass.
NCP	National Council for a Permanent FEPC 930 F Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.
SCAD	New York State Commission Against Discrimination 270 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.

LABOR

American Labor Education Service, Inc.
1776 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.
Jewish Labor Committee
175 E. Broadway, New York 2, N. Y.
CIO CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination
718 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.
NLS National Labor Service
386 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N. Y.
UAW-CIO Fair Practices Committee
618 Maccaebes Bldg., Detroit 2, Mich.
Workers Education Bureau of America
1440 Broadway, New York 18, N. Y.

FILMS

Brandon Films, Inc.
1600 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.

Educational Film Library Association, Inc.
1600 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.

Film Council of America
6 W. Ontario St., Chicago 10, Ill.

National Committee on Film Forums
525 W. 120 St., New York 27, N. Y.
New York University Film Library
26 Washington Pl., New York 3, N. Y.
YMCA Motion Picture Bureau
347 Madison Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

LIBRARIES

American Library Association
50 E. Huron St., Chicago 11, Ill.
Special Libraries Association
31 E. 10 St., New York 3, N. Y.

Civil Rights and Group Relations

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD. NAACP 50c (Human rights and minorities)

BROTHERHOOD OF MAN. NISR 10c (The facts about the races of man)

CHECK LIST: A Questionnaire on Discrimination. MC 10c a copy. 2 copies 30c. 6 copies \$2.10.

CHICAGO CHARTER OF HUMAN RELATIONS. MCHR CITIZEN IN POLITICS. NIRS 10c (The responsibilities of the individual citizen)

CIVIL LIBERTIES: "The Direct and Daring Course," by Justice William O. Douglas. CRS

CIVIL RIGHTS AND LOYALTY: A Radio Discussion. Round Table No. 505. Nov. 23, 1947. University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Ill. 10c

CIVIL RIGHTS TODAY: A Selected Bibliography. AJC and ADL

THE CONSTITUTION AND CIVIL RIGHTS, by Milton R. Konvitz. Columbia University Press, New York 23, N. Y. \$3.00.

DEMOCRACY FOR ALL: A Study Program, by Helen Parker Mudgett. AJC 20c

ECONOMIC RELATIONS: Suggestions for Social Action. MC 12c

FEDERAL PROTECTION OF CIVIL RIGHTS, by Robert K. Carr. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N. Y. \$3.00.

THE HIGH COST OF PREJUDICE, by Bucklin Moon. Julian Messner, Inc., 8 W. 40 St., New York 18, N. Y. \$2.50.

HUMAN RELATIONS IN CHICAGO: Report of Mayor's Commission on Human Relations for 1946. MCHR

HUMAN RELATIONS IN CHICAGO: Reports of Commissions and Charter of Human Relations. MCHR

LEARNING TO LIVE TOGETHER. NISR 10c (A community social action program)

THE NEGRO IN AMERICA, by Maxwell Stewart. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 95. PA 10c

PREJUDICE: Armed Forces Talk 210. CRS and ADL (This talk is distributed for the use of commanders in informing their personnel)

PROBING OUR PREJUDICES, by Hortense Powdermaker. Harper and Brothers, 49 E. 33 St., New York 16, N. Y. 65c

THE RACES OF MANKIND, by Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 85. PA 10c

SAFEGUARDING CIVIL LIBERTY TODAY: The Edward L. Bernays Lectures. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N. Y. \$2.00.

SAFEGUARDING OUR CIVIL LIBERTIES, by Robert E. Cushman. Public Affairs Pamphlets No. 43 rev. PA 20c

SENSE AND NONSENSE ABOUT RACE, by Ethel Josephine Alpenfels. Friendship Press, 156 Fifth Ave., New York 10, N. Y. 25c

SPOTLIGHT ON GARY. NUL 50c (Positive approach to interracial relations)

TEN YEARS OF STRUGGLE. Negro Labor Committee, 312 W. 125 St., New York 27, N. Y. 50c

THESE RIGHTS ARE OURS TO KEEP, by Jerome Ellison. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 140. PA 10c (Summary of the sections of "To Secure These Rights", dealing with racial and religious discrimination)

THEY GOT THE BLAME: The Story of Scapegoats in History, by Kenneth M. Gould. Association Press, 347 Madison Ave., New York 17, N. Y. 25c

TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS: A Brief Summary of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. CRS

TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS: Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

SD \$1.00

Simon & Schuster, Pub., 1230 Sixth Ave., New York 20, N. Y. \$1.00

PM (Newspaper), Box 81, Times Sq. Station, New York 18, N. Y. 10c (Newsprint ed.)

TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS IN YOUR COMMUNITY: A Manual. ACRR

WHAT'S THE SCORE ON CIVIL RIGHTS? NISR 10c (A discussion guide)

YOUTH UNITED FOR A BETTER HOME TOWN. YD 20c a copy. 25 copies \$4.50 (How to organize a Youth Council)

MAGAZINE ARTICLES

CIVIL RIGHTS MEAN GOOD BUSINESS, by Charles Luckman. *Colliers*. Jan. 17, 1948. CRS and ADL

DOING SOMETHING ABOUT PREJUDICE, by Julius Schreiber. *Surrey Graphic*. Feb. 1948. CRS

EQUALITY — A POLITICAL PROBLEM, by Carey McWilliams. *Survey Graphic*. Dec. 1947. SA 40c

A FATAL FIGHT STARTS A WAR ON PREJUDICE. *Look*. March 2, 1948. YD and CRS (Article on the film "Make Way For Youth")

MINORITIES . . . PHILADELPHIA FELLOWSHIP. *Ladies' Home Journal*. Dec. 1947. CRS and ADL

OUR CIVIL RIGHTS BECOME A WORLD ISSUE, by Robert E. Cushman. *New York Times Magazine*. Jan. 11, 1948. New York Times Co., 229 W. 43 St., New York 18, N. Y. 15c

PROGRESS REPORT, by Arnold M. Rose. *Common Ground*. Spring 1948. CCAU 50c (Summary of the many new directions in action and research in race relations)

RACE RELATIONS: Special Civil Rights Issue. December 1947-January 1948. Social Science Institute, Fisk Univ., Nashville, Tenn. 25c

SEGREGATION: Color Pattern from the Past — Our Struggle to Wipe It Out. *Surrey Graphic*. Jan. 1947. SA 40c

TO SECURE OUR CIVIL LIBERTIES, by Robert K. Carr. *Social Action*. Feb. 15, 1948. Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches, 289 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y. 15c

FILMS

The majority of the films, filmstrips, radio recordings and radio scripts are listed under "Civil Rights and Group Relations." Specific films on Education, Employment and Housing will be found under those headings.

All films are 16 mm., sound, black-and-white, unless otherwise noted.

AMERICANS ALL. March of Time Forum Edition, 369 Lexington Ave., New York 17, N. Y. \$35.00—3 year rental.
(Stresses constructive efforts to prevent discrimination)

BOUNDARY LINES. 10 min. Color cartoon. International Film Foundation, Inc., 1600 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y. \$90.00. Also available through regional offices of ADL. Nominal fee. (Urges elimination of boundary lines which divide people)

BROTHERHOOD OF MAN. 10 min. Color cartoon. Film Alliance of America, 1600 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y. \$80.00. Rent \$3.00. NISR will send discussion guide on film. (Based on the pamphlet "The Races of Mankind")

DEMOCRACY. 11 min. Encyclopedia Britannica Films, Inc., 20 N. Wacker Drive, Chicago 6, Ill. \$50.00. (The necessary ingredients of democracy, such as free elections, freedom of worship, etc.)

THE HOUSE I LIVE IN. 11 min. Young America Films, Inc., 18 E. 41 St., New York 17, N. Y. \$27.50. (Plea for fair play)

MAKE WAY FOR YOUTH. 22 min. Produced by the Youth Division of the National Social Welfare Assembly; narrated by Melvyn Douglas. Distributed by:

Association Films 317 Madison Ave., New York 17, N. Y.
351 Turk St., San Francisco 2, Calif.
3012 Maple Ave., Dallas 4, Tex.
19 S. La Salle St., Chicago 3, Ill.

\$60.00. Rent \$3.50. NISR will send discussion guide on film. (Teen-agers, working in an inter-organization Youth Council)

MAN-ONE FAMILY. 1946 ed. 20 min. British Information Service, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y. \$37.50. Rent \$2.00. (Refutation of racial myths)

ONE PEOPLE. 12 min. With discussion guide. ADL Nominal fee. (Contributions of immigrant groups to American culture)

OUR BILL OF RIGHTS. 20 min. Academic Film Co., 1450 Broadway, New York 16, N. Y. \$90.00. Rent \$3.50. (The birth of the Bill of Rights)

PUBLIC OPINION. 10 min. Encyclopedia Britannica Films, Inc., 20 N. Wacker Drive, Chicago 6, Ill. \$50.00. (The power of public opinion)

SING A SONG OF FRIENDSHIP. Two animated song cartoons. 10 min. each. ADL Nominal fee.

THE STORY THAT COULDNT BE PRINTED. 11 min. Teaching Film Custodians, 25 W. 43 St., New York 18, N. Y. Apply. (John Peter Zenger; freedom of the press)

WHOEVER YOU ARE. 20 min. Award Films, 115 W. 44 St., New York 18, N. Y. \$65.00. Rent \$3.00. (Group tensions and what parents can do to overcome them)

FILMSTRIPS

The following filmstrips (50 frame, 35 mm., \$3.00 each), together with printed speechnotes and discussion, may be purchased from: Film Publishers, Inc., 25 Broad St., New York 4, N. Y.

AMERICAN RELIGIOUS HOLIDAYS. Religious holidays of the three major faiths.

FORWARD—ALL TOGETHER. Combatting discrimination in America.

FREE TO BE DIFFERENT. Benefits of cultural differences.

THE HOUSE OF GOD. Freedom of worship in America.

HOW TO BE HAPPY AND FREE. How to promote good relations in a community.

IT'S UP TO YOU. Ways to eliminate discrimination.

MAN—ONE FAMILY. Scientific explanation of the brotherhood of man.

TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS. The report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

THE ONE NATION SERIES. Five filmstrips based on the "Look" book of the same title. Titles:

THE AMERICAN NEGRO
CULTURE AND CREED
EARLY AMERICANS
PACIFIC RACES
THE SPIRAL OF SOCIAL CHANGE

The ADL is distributing the following filmstrips for a nominal fee. Titles:

ABOUT PEOPLE. 15 min. Based on juvenile best seller "All About Us"

LET'S LIVE DEMOCRACY. 20 min. The people's fight against bigotry.

NONE SO BLIND. 15 min. Overcoming prejudices.

WE ARE ALL BROTHERS. 20 min. A pictorialization of the pamphlet "The Races of Mankind."

PLAYS

DO YOU KNOW THE SCORE? by Lynne Rhodes. One-act play based on the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. Designed for simple production by teen-age groups. CRS

See also: *Scripts*.

RADIO RECORDINGS AND SCRIPTS

RADIO BULLETIN OF AVAILABLE PRO-DEMOCRACY RADIO SCRIPTS AND RECORDINGS. Issued twice a year. Latest issue lists 79 scripts and 40 recordings. Available on request from AJC.

Recordings

All recordings made on 16-inch discs, 33 1/3 revolutions per minute. Where also available in 12-inch size, 78 revolutions per minute suitable for home use, this fact is noted.

ALL ABOARD FOR ADVENTURE (SERIES IV) Set of twelve fifteen-minute recordings in the field of intercultural education, together with leaders' guides and a picture book. 16-inch size \$35.00; 12-inch size \$25.00. May be rebroadcast on independent local stations. Joint Religious Radio Committee, 287 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y. Titles:

BOY WHO GOT THERE BY HIMSELF. Part I. Dr. George Washington Carver's boyhood.

BOY WHO GOT THERE BY HIMSELF. Part II. Dr. Carver's career.

BROTHERS UNDER THE SKIN. A tale of tension between national groups.

CALLING DR. BLAKE. A Negro doctor overcomes prejudice.

CHINA AROUND THE CORNER. A Chinese girl finds friends.

KOKI COMES HOME. Experiences of a Japanese family.

NO PLACE IS HOME. The struggle of a Mexican child.

OKAY, GIUSEPPE. Adventures of an Italian orphan.

PROMISED LAND. Roger Williams and a Jewish family.

PUDDIN' HEAD'S DREAM. An American boy learns about "foreigners."

SECOND CLASS CITIZENS. Story of a Navajo Indian boy.

SENSE AND NONSENSE. Based on the book about race by Ethel Alpenfels.

THE AMERICAN DREAM (SERIES XI) Thirteen fifteen-minute programs dealing with human relations. Available for loan without charge. May be broadcast on all local radio stations. IDE Titles:

- ARROW IN THE AIR. A sociological puzzle.
- BLOW THAT WHISTLE. A friendly postman delivers smashing blows for democracy.
- THE BRIDGE BUILDER. A college professor fights for his belief in education.
- THE CAROLINA KID. Story of a young scientist, turned prize-fighter.
- CHAIN REACTION. New slant on human values.
- FACE TO FACE. An American "schoolmarm" teaches democracy.
- HEY, CABBIE. A taxi driver and Americanism.
- MY OWN, MY NATIVE CITY. A ballet dancer returns home.
- OCCUPATION HOUSEWIFE. A housewife and her friendly neighbors.
- ONE OF US. "All men are children of God."
- ONE SMALL VOICE. Joe Doakes battles for human rights.
- A PARTY FOR THE DOCTOR. Difficulties of a newly-arrived doctor in a community.
- SHERIFF MAT BLAKE. A sheriff defends the American principle of "Justice For All."

LITTLE SONGS ON BIG SUBJECTS. Twelve one-minute jingles written by Hy Zaret and Lou Singer and produced on Station WNEW, New York, N. Y. Special 12-inch size, double-faced, distributed without charge. Request for recordings must come from local radio stations. IDE

MY LITTLE BROTHER. Fifteen-minute story of a Harlem boy who visits in Vermont. 16-inch size \$5.00; may be specially ordered in 12-inch size \$9.60. May be rebroadcast on independent local stations. Joint Religious Radio Committee, 287 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.

WE ARE MANY PEOPLE. Thirteen dramatizations on ways to promote civic unity. The recordings leave time for two-minute individual messages at beginning and end of each program. Price on request. May be broadcast on local stations. Pax Productions, 177 Post St., San Francisco 8, Calif. Titles:

- AND THEN THERE WAS ONE. People went back where John sent them.
- THE BARRIER. Goodwill for Mexicans.
- BEND WITH THE WIND. Pupil saves teacher.
- CITY OF TOMORROW. A baby's cry defeats the KKK.
- FOR SOME OF THE MANY PEOPLE. A blind woman sees clearly.
- LET MY PEOPLE GO. Negro actress and discrimination.
- THE OTHER SIDE OF THE COIN. A doctor works for the Negro soldier.
- PAPER CHILDREN. A reporter meets the DP's.

THE PEN IS MIGHTIER. Stereotypes in mystery fiction.

THE PIXIE AND MR. BIXBY. Man and the pixie Maxie.

RADIO IS A WONDERFUL THING. Prosperity means everyone.

WE, THE CHILDREN. Father, son and democracy.

Scripts

AS ONE STAR DIFFERETH. Fifteen-minute dramatization by Helen R. Fish, showing the cultural contributions of America's foreign-born. Simple production with cast of about eleven. NCCJ.

THE EDITOR OF NEWVILLE. Fifteen-minute play by George Egon Hatvany. A newspaper editor fights for the principles of fair play. Fairly simple production with cast of about fourteen. NCCJ.

LOOK BEYOND THE LABEL. Thirty-minute dramatization by Irene D. Jawarski, stressing that one should judge each person on his own merits. Fairly simple production with cast of eight. BIE 15c

MEET YOUR RELATIVES. Thirty-minute dramatization by Alice B. Nirenberg. Simple production with cast of twelve. The following credit should be given: "Meet Your Relatives" is adapted from Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 85. "The Races of Mankind." PA

THE WORST BOY IN SCHOOL. Fifteen-minute dramatization; part of the "Let's Play Fair" radio series, by Gretta Baker. Simple production with cast of seven. NCCJ

In addition to the above, a series of five fifteen-minute dramatic programs dealing with problems of discrimination are available on request from ADL.

Community Surveys

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

LET'S LOOK AT OURSELVES: A Brief Guide for Conducting a Community Audit. CRS.

THE MONTCLAIR COMMUNITY AUDIT: Here's a Project for Your Town! CRS

NEGROES IN KALAMAZOO: A Local Self-Survey. Available on request from Kalamazoo Council of Social Agencies, Kalamazoo, Mich.

NORTHTOWN SURVEY ON HUMAN RELATIONS. CONG

A REPORT ON MINORITIES IN DENVER: With Recommendations by the Mayor's Interim Survey Committee on Human Relations. Available on request from Denver Unity Council, 205 Empire Bldg., Denver, Colo.

MAGAZINE ARTICLES

THE HIGH COST OF PREJUDICE: Survey Conducted in Denver, by Louis E. Sidman. *Rocky Mountain Life*. Feb. 1948. ADL

Administration of Justice

PAMPHLETS

THE POLICE AND MINORITY GROUPS: A Manual Prepared for the Chicago Park District Police Training Schools, by J. D. Lohman and others, Chicago Park District, 425 E. 14 Blvd., Chicago 5, Ill. \$2.00

Education

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

DISCRIMINATION IN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES.
ADL (Memorandum on methods of dealing with this problem)

HIGHER EDUCATION FOR AMERICAN DEMOCRACY:
Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education.
SD
Vol. I. ESTABLISHING THE GOALS. 40c
Vol. II. EQUALIZING AND EXPANDING INDIVIDUAL OPPORTUNITY. 35c
Vol. III. ORGANIZING HIGHER EDUCATION. 30c
Vol. IV. STAFFING HIGHER EDUCATION. 25c
Vol. V. FINANCING HIGHER EDUCATION. 25c

HOW ABOUT A DECENT SCHOOL FOR ME? NAACP 5c
MINORITY PROBLEMS IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS: A Study of Administrative Policies and Practices in Seven School Systems, by Theodore Brameld. Harper and Brothers, 49 E. 33 St., New York 16, N. Y. \$2.50.

RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION, by Robert Redfield. In "Equality of Educational Opportunity." Round Table No. 486. July 13, 1947. University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Ill. 10c

MAGAZINE ARTICLES

COLLEGE QUOTAS AND AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, by Dan W. Dodson. *American Scholar*. Summer 1946. ADL

DISCRIMINATION IN MEDICAL COLLEGES, by Frank Kingdon. *American Mercury*. Oct. 1945. CRS

EDUCATION FOR OUR TIME. *Surrey Graphic*. Nov. 1946. SA 60c

RACE AND RELIGION IN SELECTIVE ADMISSION, by Robert Redfield. *Journal of the American Association of Collegiate Registrars*. July 1947. ADL

SEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION ATTACKED, by Milton R. Konvitz. *Common Ground*. Spring 1948. CCAU 50c

FILMS

ONE-TENTH OF OUR NATION. 26 min. International Film Bureau, 64 E. Randolph St., Chicago, Ill. \$75.00. (Negro education in the South)

Employment

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

ALL MANNER OF MEN, by Malcolm Ross. Harcourt, Brace & Co., Inc., 383 Madison Ave., New York 17, N. Y. \$3.50. (An account of the National FEPC, by its former chairman)

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE NEW YORK STATE COMMISSION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION: 1947. SCAD

ANSWER THE CRITICS OF FEPC. NCP

DISCRIMINATION COSTS YOU MONEY. NLS 5c a copy. 100 copies \$3.50.

DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT. ADL (Memorandum on methods of dealing with this problem)

FEPC REFERENCE MANUAL. 1948 ed. NCRAC

JUSTICE ON THE JOB BEFORE YOU VOTE: FEPC . . . or Else . . . in 1948. NCP

THE MAN IN THE CAGE. NISR 10c (Problems of job discrimination and proposals for a permanent FEPC)

REVIEW OF FIRST YEAR'S OPERATION OF THE NEW YORK STATE LAW AGAINST DISCRIMINATION: July 1945-July 1946. SCAD

THE WORK OF JEWISH AGENCIES IN THE FIELD OF EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATIONS: A Survey Report, by Arnold Aronson and W. H. Lurie. NCRAC

WORKING FOR LABOR. NLS (Story of the National Labor Service founded to promote good will among American workers of all races and religions)

MAGAZINE ARTICLES

EMPLOYMENT: A Civil Right in New Jersey, by Harold A. Lett. *Crisis*. June 1947. DAD

THE OUTLOOK FOR A NEW FEPC, by Malcolm Ross. *Commentary*. April 1947. CRS

THE PEOPLE VS. DISCRIMINATION, by Felix S. Cohen. *Commentary*. March 1946. CRS

THEY DID IT IN ST. LOUIS: One Man Against Folklore, by Malcolm Ross. *Commentary*. July 1947. CRS

TOLERANCE IN INDUSTRY: The Record, by Henry C. Turner. *New York Times Magazine* Aug. 24, 1947. CRS and ADL (The state of New York and discrimination in employment)

FILMS

THE NEW SOUTH. 17 min. March of Time Forum Edition, 369 Lexington Ave., New York 17, N. Y. \$35.00 — 3 year rental. (Problems facing the South)

FILMSTRIPS

THE MAN IN THE CAGE. 20 min. Brandon Films, Inc., 1600 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y. NISR will send discussion guide on film. (Job discrimination)

Health Services

PAMPHLETS

LIFTING THE BARRIERS. SH

MEDICAL CARE AND THE PLIGHT OF THE NEGRO, by W. Montague Cobb. NAACP 10c

THE SYDENHAM INSTITUTION: A Description, by Alfred E. Cohn. SH

Housing

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

HEMMED IN: ABC's of Race Restrictive Housing Covenants. NAACP 10c a copy. 50 copies \$3.50. 100 copies \$5.00.

PEOPLE VS. PROPERTY: Race Restrictive Covenants in Housing, by Dr. Charles S. Johnson and Herman H. Long. Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association, Fisk Univ., Nashville 8, Tenn. 65c

PREJUDICE AND PROPERTY: A Historic Brief Against Racial Covenants, submitted by Tom C. Clark and Philip B. Perlman. American Council on Public Affairs, 2153 Florida Ave., Washington 8, D. C. \$2.00

RACE BIAS IN HOUSING, by Charles Abrams. ACLU 15c a copy. 100 copies \$4.50.

RACIAL RESTRICTIVE COVENANTS, by Bernard J. Sheil and Loren Miller. Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination, 123 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill. 20c

MAGAZINE ARTICLES

COVENANTS FOR EXCLUSION, by Loren Miller. *Survey Graphic*. Oct. 1947. SA 60c

DO YOU KNOW YOUR NEIGHBOR? by Helena Huntington Smith. *Woman's Home Companion*. Feb. 1948 CRS and ADL

HOMES FOR ARYANS ONLY: The Restrictive Covenant Spreads Legal Racism in America, by Charles Abrams. *Commentary*. May 1947. CRS

SEGREGATION IS NOT THE ANSWER. *American City*. Sept. 1947. American City Magazine Corp., 470 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N. Y. 50c

RADIO RECORDINGS

HOW FAR IS FIFTY FEET? Filipinos and the restrictive covenant. One of a series of thirteen dramatizations "We Are Many People" (see Appendix page 62)

Public Accommodation

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

DISCRIMINATION IN PUBLIC PLACES AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS OF NEW JERSEY: 4th Annual Report. New Jersey Urban Colored Population Commission, 1060 Broad St., Newark 2, N. J.

SOCIAL DISCRIMINATION. ADL (Memorandum on methods of dealing with this problem)

MAGAZINE ARTICLES

DOES SOCIAL DISCRIMINATION REALLY MATTER? by Carey McWilliams. *Commentary*. Nov. 1947. CRS

The Right to Vote

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

DECLARATION OF NEGRO VOTERS. NAACP

DEMOCRACY BEGINS AT HOME: The Tennessee Fight on the Poll Tax, by Jennings Perry. J. B. Lippincott & Co., E. Washington Sq., Philadelphia 5, Pa. \$3.00.

MAGAZINE ARTICLES

WILL THE NEGRO ELECT OUR NEXT PRESIDENT? by Walter White. *Collier's*. Nov. 22, 1947. NAACP

Legislation

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

COMPILATION OF LAWS AGAINST DISCRIMINATION BECAUSE OF RACE, CREED, COLOR OR NATIONAL ORIGIN: A Reference Manuel. SCAD \$1.85

EQUAL JUSTICE UNDER LAW. NAACP 10c

LET'S LOOK AT LEGISLATION, by Martha Coghill Barness. Association of the Junior Leagues of America, Inc., The Waldorf-Astoria, 305 Park Ave., New York 22, N. Y. 50c

METHODS OF FORMING A STATE COUNCIL FOR CIVIL RIGHTS. Essex County Intergroup Council, 30 Clinton St., Newark, N. J.

PRIMER FOR POLITICAL ACTION. MC 15c

WHAT CAN BE DONE ABOUT PREJUDICE—BY LEGISLATION? AJC

WHAT IS THE LAW? CIO (Guide to State civil rights statutes and FEPC legislation, and procedures for processing court cases)

"How To Do It" Guides

HERE'S HOW IT'S DONE: A Popular Education Guide, by Florence B. Widutis, assisted by Sally Smith Kahn. Program Information Exchange, Inc., 816 21 St., N.W., Washington, D. C. \$1.00.

HOW TO MAKE A SPEECH AND ENJOY IT, by Helen Partridge. NPC 75c

IT PAYS TO TALK IT OVER. NISR 40c (The technique of discussion)

MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK IN YOUR COMMUNITY: A Group Action Guide, by Helen Trager and Spencer Brown. ADL 20c

PAMPHLETS THAT PULL, by Alexander L. Crosby. NPC \$1.00

PLANNING YOUR MEETING, by Ruth Haller. NPC 50c

RADIO: How, When and Why to Use It, by Beatrice K. Tolteris. NPC \$1.00

WORKING WITH NEWSPAPERS, by Gertrude W. Simpson. NPC 75c

A Checklist of Groups Found in Most Communities

Be sure to include these groups as partners in your civil rights program whenever they are represented in your community:

RELIGIOUS GROUPS:

In addition to the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish churches, there may be branches of national organizations in your community. You may also find it useful to make direct contact with the headquarters of such national organizations as the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.; the National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C.; the Roundtable of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.; the American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.; and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 212 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y. These national offices will let you know whether they have affiliated groups in your town; they will also be glad to offer help and suggestions for your work.

RACIAL GROUPS:

The two largest Negro organizations in the United States are the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 West 40 St., New York 18, N. Y., and the National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York 21, N. Y. Write to these headquarters to ask whether there are local branches or groups that may be drawn into your work.

FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS:

Be sure to get in touch with the Masons, the Elks, the Eagles, the Moose and any other fraternal orders in your community. Most of them have Americanism Committees that will readily cooperate with your program.

VETERANS ORGANIZATIONS:

Almost every community has its own American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars and Disabled American Veterans posts. Find out if there are also posts of the American Veterans Committee, the Jewish War Veterans, the Catholic War Veterans, and the American Veterans of World War II (AM-VETS), and draw them into your work as well. Some communities also have active Veteran Councils, composed of several veteran groups, that will be happy to cooperate with you.

BUSINESS GROUPS AND PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS:

Besides your Chamber of Commerce, other service organizations like Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, Optimists, etc., should be contacted. Don't forget such important professional groups as the Ministerial Associations, the County Medical, Dental and Bar Associations and state or city-wide teachers' organizations.

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS:

The two major labor organizations in the United States are the Congress of Industrial Organizations, represented locally by CIO Industrial Union Councils and the American Federation of Labor, with its local Central Labor Bodies. In many sections of the country, the Railroad Brotherhoods, too, have large representation. For further information about labor groups, write to the Workers' Educational Bureau, 1440 Broadway, New York 18, N. Y. or the American Labor Education Service, 1776 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.

THE SCHOOLS:

The education of young people is one of the most important long-range goals of any successful civil rights program. Be sure to include the Superintendent of Schools and the Chairman of the School Board in your plans. Also the Parent-Teachers Association and any organization of teachers active in your town.

YOUTH GROUPS AND YOUTH SERVING ORGANIZATIONS:

To rally the young people of your town, you will want the active cooperation of the "Y's"—the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Men's Hebrew Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, and the Young Women's Hebrew Association; also such popular groups as the Catholic Youth Organization, the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, the Camp Fire Girls, the 4-H Clubs, and, of course, the Youth Council, if there is one in your town. Write to the Youth Division, National Social Welfare Assembly, 134 East 56 St., New York 22, N. Y. for a list of all the youth groups in your community.

WOMEN'S CLUBS:

There are several thousand women's clubs throughout the country, affiliated with the General Federation of Women's Clubs, 1734 N St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C., the National Council of Women, 501 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y. and the National Federation of Business and Professional Women, 1819 Broadway, New York 23, N. Y. If you have any doubts about whether you have included the important women's organizations in your community, a note to these headquarters will bring you the answer.

FARM GROUPS:

In rural areas, important community activities are conducted by the two biggest farm groups in the country: the National Grange, 744 Jackson Place, Washington 6, D. C. and the American Farm Bureau Federation, 58 E. Washington St., Chicago, Ill. Other farm groups with local representation are the National Farm Labor Union, 726 9th Street N.W., Washington, D. C., and youth groups like the Future Homemakers of America, the Future Farmers of America, the New Farmers of America and the New Homemakers of America.

CIVIC UNITY GROUPS:

In several hundred cities and towns there are Mayor's Committees, Civic Unity groups, Community Relations Councils and other bodies concerned with inter-faith and inter-racial co-operation. The American Council on Race Relations, 4901 South Ellis Avenue, Chicago 15, Ill., has information on the location of Mayor's Committees. The Community Relations Service, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y. can tell you whether there are any Community Relations Councils in your town. The Anti-Defamation League, 212 Fifth Ave., New York 10, N. Y. can inform you about their regional offices, which are located throughout the country.

Most of us have known something about racial and religious discrimination. But we've never known enough. Not until the President's Committee on Civil Rights gave us its Report a short time ago. The facts in that Report jolted thousands of citizens out of their comfortable chairs, sent them off to the nearest mailbox with letters to clergymen, to senators and congressmen, to newspaper editors and organization officials: "It's high time for action—where do we go from here?"

This handbook comes in answer to those many energetic men and women who have heard enough talk and want to fight the good fight for civil rights.